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17 March 1980

# Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2091



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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLO UN DELEGATE DISCUSSES PROGRESS OF PALESTINE CAUSE AT UN

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 21-27 Jan 80 pp 21-22

[Interview with PLO UN Delegate Zuhdi Tarzi]

[Text] The international status of the PLO, the Palestinian cause, and American public opinion are topics about which PLO Delegate to the UN Zuhdi Tarzi is perhaps best able to talk. His ongoing presence at the international organization has enabled him to experience at close hand the international dimensions of the Palestinian cause, and he was one of the factors behind the issue of Former American Ambassador Andrew Young, who had a meeting with Tarzi which led to his resignation and the subsequent explosion of the Palestinian cause in American public opinion. The following interview, which Zuhdi Tarzi granted to AL-DUSTUR, is about these matters.

[Question] The news from Iran has overwhelmed all the other topics being discussed by the General Assembly. How does this affect the progress of the Palestinian cause and the other issues relating to the Middle East?

[Answer] This is in fact true, but this "overwhelming," as you put it, has had its effect only from the publicity point of view. The course of affairs during the debates has not been affected by the Iranian incidents, and the speakers have been able to narrow down their debates in an objective manner. For example, during the debate on the Arab community's demand for the annulment of the decision made by Israel to expel Nablus Mayor Bassam al-Shik'ah, the overwhelming majority of the members of the special political commission were in agreement, and the matter was proposed to the commission, where a demand that Israel rescind the expulsion decree was passed. It was obvious that Israel's friends tried to get around discussing the issue by resorting to discussing the step itself, and not the essence of the matter. But the overwhelming majority insisted on discussing the matter and demanded that the decision be referred immediately to the General Assembly, where the request was carried unanimously with the exception of Israel.

This in itself is an indication that the Iranian events, although they are overwhelming from the publicity angle, are not affecting the heart of the matter.

[Question] With the exception of the decision you mentioned, the General Assembly has not issued any effective resolutions which might be the basis for more progressive stands.

[Answer] This is not true. The General Assembly's approval of the declaration of the invalidity of the Camp David agreement is a new element and a new course being followed by the General Assembly. It is true that Egypt tried to prevent the General Assembly from objecting to the legitimacy of agreements concluded between sovereign states, on the pretext that in pursuit of their sovereignty nations are entitled to reach agreements among themselves.

But the General Assembly adhered to its stand, which is based on the fact that Egypt and Israel, when they arrived at the Camp David agreement, violated the rights of the Palestinian people and the UN resolutions, and rejected the presence of the recognized representative of the Palestinian people--the PLO. Therefore the General Assembly clung to its right to declare the invalidity of the Camp David agreement.

[Question] During the session, however, there has been no progress in achieving Palestinian goals and laying the groundwork for pursuing the political, military and diplomatic struggle.

[Answer] Progress is also achieved by removing the obstacles standing in the way of progress.

[Question] What is the practical benefit of the numerous indictments of Egypt and Camp David?

[Answer] The fact is that until 1974 the Palestinian cause was dealt with unrealistically in the UN. In 1974, the Palestinian cause was put into its proper context in the UN; i.e. the issue must be treated as a political one connected with human rights, and not just as a matter of supplying food and aid to the refugees.

Ever since 1974, the Palestinian cause has begun achieving some victories in the UN, the first being Resolution 3236, which affirmed the established rights of the Palestinian people, specifying them as follows: the right to return, and the right to self-determination, national independence, and sovereignty over Palestine without any foreign interference.

This was followed by a resolution inviting the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, to join in UN activities.

This resolution was followed by one forming a committee to draw up a schedule for enabling the Palestinian people to pursue these rights. The General Assembly ratified this committee's recommendations.

These things must be taken into consideration. The Camp David parties have tried to renounce all these recommendations and rights, and to deflect the

issue from its true course and bypass it. Therefore, the resolution declaring the invalidity of Camp David was ratified in order to emphasize the proper course of the Palestinian people's issue in the UN.

[Question] The organization is accused of having failed in its policy to achieve its goals in practice, and therefore of having resorted to repeated concentration on side issues like Camp David and Egypt. This began in the last session of the General Assembly, at which time there was a total absence of any practical, realistic step towards progress in finding a just solution to the issue.

[Answer] First of all, to say that Camp David is a side issue is wrong, for Camp David is a policy, fabric and goal brought about in order to deny and refute the rights of the Palestinian people and the PLO. Therefore the General Assembly has reaffirmed these rights and this representation. It may be useful here to remember that while 97 states voted on the side of these rights and the PLO representation last year, 117 states did so this year.

In another context, we must ask what the UN can offer us. We know that the UN has no power of implementation, and that the most we can get from the UN is concentrated moral support. This we have achieved.

The liberation of Palestine will be accomplished on the spot. In the UN we are assured of support for the legitimacy of our struggle, as well as solidarity among the forces supporting us and an increase in the number of such forces.

As for Egypt's stand, we must realize that it is stupid for al-Sadat's government to deny the glorious struggle of the Egyptian people and the blood of Egyptians who were martyred for Palestine.

[Question] During this session Austrian Chancellor Kreisky presented a proposal which was translated by the Austrian mission into a working paper, which proposed exploratory discussions between the Palestinians and Israel. Why didn't you accept this paper?

[Answer] It must be said that the UN draft resolutions are studied and debated before being submitted to official debate. Chancellor Kreisky's attempt was a praiseworthy one, but it became clear to all that it denies in practice, or ignores, all the foundations which the General Assembly has laid for arriving at a comprehensive solution leading to a just peace in the region. For example, Chancellor Kreisky ignores the need for the Israeli occupation forces to totally withdraw from all occupied territories before embarking on any negotiations pertaining to the next step. The fact is, he has ignored the fact that there must be withdrawal, or at least an announcement by Israel of its determination to withdraw in case a mutual understanding is reached. In no case can withdrawal be subject to negotiation. Withdrawal has been decided on and must be achieved.

In another context, the proposal ignores all the Palestinian people's established rights, as resolved and affirmed many times by the UN.

The proposal was formulated in such a way as to raise questions about how it would be implemented. It is a known fact in the UN that any proposal must also contain a framework for action, what is called the mechanism. The proposal left this out and paid no attention to it, and thus leaves the search for a solution in obscurity and confusion.

I believe that the proposal and the concept started from scratch, after ignoring all the principles and foundations laid by the UN for arriving at a comprehensive solution guaranteeing justice.

[Question] One fact cannot be ignored--that Kreisky has been responsible for the initiative which has led to the achievement of diplomatic gains for the Palestinian cause in Europe.

[Answer] This might be true to a certain extent, but it is not absolutely true, because what primarily opened the doors of Western Europe to us was our determination and continuation of our struggle. We must not forget that our relationship with France began before our contacts with Austria.

[Question] How are relations now between the PLO and the European states in general and Kreisky in particular?

[Answer] There are direct, official contacts on the foreign minister level between the PLO and France, Belgium, Italy and Spain. There are relations, not yet official, with Britain. We are on the way to establishing relations with West Germany, Japan, and some Scandinavian states.

There has been an escalation of these relations. As for contacts with the Austrian government, it is a known fact that Austria recognized the PLO only a few weeks ago, and is now developing and strengthening these relations.

[Question] In recent weeks, the PLO's relations with Libya have deteriorated. What are the dimensions of these disagreements, and what are the reasons for this crisis?

[Answer] Here we are dealing with issues directly related to our activities in the UN. Even now, Libya's UN representative is maintaining the Libyan stand, which starts with support for the PLO in all matters pertaining to Palestine.

[Question] What are you doing right now to cement relations between the PLO and Black Americans, and are you following any specific program?

[Answer] No, in our relations with Black Americans we are still studying the best ways of cementing these relations to the benefit of both sides.

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PLO DIRECTOR IN QATAR INTERVIEWED ON REVOLUTIONARY STANDS

Doha AL-'URUBAH in Arabic 27 Dec 79 pp 18-19

[Interview with Yasin al-Sharif, Director of PLO Office in Doha, by 'Abd-al-Hayy Duwaydar; "Interview With Director of PLO Office on Anniversary of Eruption of Palestinian Revolution"]

[Text] On the 15th anniversary of the firing of the Palestinian bullet with its Arab dimensions and its humane goal and objective, the Arab Palestinian man cannot but bend his head in reverence for the honorable martyrs who have paved parts of the long path of the revolution, falling martyr after martyr and caravan after caravan until the honorable and resounding victory, God willing.

If the Palestinians driven homeless under every star feel proud of the revolutionary procession that embraces them under the canopy of the PLO, it is because when their first bullet was fired on 1 January 1965 they were standing on the brink of despair. It was that lightning that issued from the barrel of the rifle and that light that radiated from the letters of the first declaration of the revolution that restored the Palestinian rifle to its right place as a vanguard of Arab liberation, that restored to the Palestinians their faded cause that had been lost on the rostrums of the United Nations, as if it were a cause without an advocate or a supporter, and that turned the Palestinians from refugees into revolutionaries and from bearers of ration cards into bearers of the torch of freedom on the gates of Palestine.

On this anniversary of the eruption of the Palestinian revolution, AL-'URUBAH has conducted this interview with Yasin al-Sharif, the director of the PLO office in Doha.

[Question] We ask al-Sharif about the goals of the inception of the revolution.

[Answer] It may be hard for free men to live on the peripheries of life when they had owned land that is historically, geographically and realistically some of the most fertile land, that is most sacred and that has encountered throughout 5,000 years the largest numbers of events. This land

lived as an Arab land and then as an Arab-Islamic land until it--with its holy Jerusalem and its good and generous soil--ended as the land of Israel with the force of international plots and with the impudence of weapons and bayonets.

We don't want to recall to mind the 1917 Balfour Declaration plot, the 1947 partition plot, the 15 May 1948 tragedy when the state of treachery and aggression came into existence, the 1956 tripartite aggression, the June 1967 defeat or the attacks, retreats, theatricals and farces that interspersed all these events. We only want to say that the bullet of 1 January 1965 was a bullet in the right direction--a bullet assuring the world that the owners of the land are still present, that the name of Palestine is still in the hearts and the minds, that the revolution is necessary to prove existence and that, otherwise, there is no existence without it, that the conflict is imposed by Israel which is superior in the means and methods of conflict and that if the Arabs fail to stand as one man and one heart, their unity will, God forbid, break forever.

This is a simple answer as to the inevitability of the revolution under the then deteriorating conditions governing the Arab body that had been weakened by wounds and the extremities of this body had to rally around the big wound so as to stop the incessant bleeding or else surrender to the Israeli cancer and let it spread to the extremities and devour them one after the other.

[Question] What about Camp David and the plans aimed against the Arab nation?

[Answer] The Camp David operation was woven skillfully and maliciously to divide the Arab ranks and to divert the attention of the Arabs from the original goal of continuing the political and military struggle. The parties to Camp David thought that the Arab climate was ready for pouncing on the weak Arab body whereas there were signs and indications that the Arabs had begun to master their own destinies and to act in accordance with their interest. Matters then developed and the regime of the dear Egypt split away from the Arab ranks to follow the illusion of the capitulationist solutions, knowing or ignoring that it knows that independent action in sacred and vital causes is something which has its uncertain, rather grave, results and consequences. There is no better proof than the intransigence of Begin and of his gang, their ceaseless settlement, Judaization and plundering of the land and their crushing and expulsion of the free men. It is as if the Camp David accord has given them the right opportunity to implement their plans to the full.

The Egyptian wall of steadfastness fell, perhaps for a time, to be replaced by a new wall in which the Iranian revolution and the Palestinian revolution have cohered to underline a new dimension of revolution. The two revolutions are now fighting in a single trench and that chauvinistic line of the shah which threatened the Gulf has turned into a line closer to the goals of the Arabs than to the goals of their enemies at a time when the United States is trying to stifle the Arab will and to control the Arab natural resources and the free Arab will.

[Question] We ask al-Sharif about the new European inclination and about Europe's position toward the Palestinian cause and the PLO.

[Answer] While it was thought that the European countries that had cheered the Camp David accord would support this accord without reservation, the positions of these countries have changed relatively in the wake of the Baghdad summit in favor of the Palestinian cause. This is in line with the new Arab spirit that has not rejected peace altogether but has demanded a just peace that guarantees the Palestinian people's legitimate rights to establish their own state and to determine their future.

Even though some of the European countries are still vacillating, most of them have recorded better positions in favor of the Palestinian cause for several reasons:

1. The durability of the Palestinian revolution and its effective political movement that has been parallel to and complementing the military movement.
2. The attempt of these countries to act in harmony with the Baghdad summit resolutions that have been reaffirmed by the Tunis summit. These resolutions have underlined the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, their right to establish their Palestinian state and their right to determine their future.
3. The feeling among these countries that the Camp David accord was produced without their participation and has come in favor of one side, namely Israel.
4. Awareness among these countries of the progress achieved by the Palestinian cause at the international level and within the United Nations that has recently acknowledged the Palestinians' right to determine their future.
5. Awareness among these countries of the cultural character of the Palestinian people and of their revolution which reflects the genuineness and originality of these people and their stronger right to their usurped land.
6. The magnificent and unique steadfastness of the Palestinians in the occupied territories who have expressed on all occasions their adherence to the PLO as their sole legitimate representative and their rejection of the self-rule theatrical. These positions have been reflected in the firm and ideal stance of the mayors, of the students and of all the revolutionary masses--a stance maintained despite all the means of psychological and economic oppression and frustration to which they are exposed.

[Question] What about the revolution's steadfastness in confronting its enemies?

[Answer] The Palestinian revolution is the fate of the Palestinians and of the Arabs. It is the purest Arab phenomenon in modern history, rather it is one of the most prominent modern human liberation movements. It has been

proven to the Arab brothers that it is a revolution committed to its principles and goals, despite the strong obstacles that have risen from time to time in the face of the revolution and of its movement. The revolution has been made firmer by the enemy's endless ambitions and his ceaseless acts of oppression. Throughout more than 30 years, Israel has not presented a single serious idea acknowledging, even if only in the name of maneuvering and deception, the presence of the Palestinian people, not to mention their right to their homeland. After Israel waved the capitulationist peace and signed with the Egyptian regime the U.S.-Zionist Camp David accord, it started to confiscate Arab lands, establish settlements and engage in all forms of Judaization. It has been screaming its loud protests whenever one of the Arab countries has tried to arm itself with defensive, not offensive, weapons.

We must admit that Israel has succeeded in isolating the Egyptian regime from the Arab realm for a time.

It has also succeeded in destroying the fraternal Lebanon and in recruiting dissident Sa'd Haddad to serve its interest for a time.

It has also succeeded in confiscating and annexing Arab lands but has not succeeded in destroying the will of our people who cling to this land.

However, while acknowledging these successes, we assure the Arab brothers that we have not stopped, that we are marching on the path and that through them and with them we will achieve victory.

We are still able to supply the revolution's fuel from the blood of our sons "and the unjust shall see how the tables will be turned on them."

[Question] What about the dangers and the good signs?

[Answer] The Palestinian revolution, while scoring victory after victory in gaining international recognition of its people's right to self determination and to setting up their independent state, sees in all this signs that bring it closer to the goal. But by virtue of its bitter experiences, the revolution is aware that dangers engulf the good signs, that mines fill the revolution's path and that plotting against the revolution has been in the picture since the revolution's eruption. But the broad revolutionary vision that the revolution has gained after the bitter and hard experiences that it has undergone in more than one arena are enough to enable the revolution to overcome all plots, God willing.

Perhaps what makes the revolution more confident of the future is the fact that the Arab and Islamic nation feels more strongly now than ever before that the Palestinian revolution which has realized accomplishments that had seemed a mirage earlier is capable of marching forth. But the revolution needs the support of the Arab nation from the ocean to the Gulf and the support of the Muslims wherever they may be, and even the support of free men everywhere.

The Arabs will be one day proud when the revolution triumphs and when Palestine, which is like the heart, again becomes free and Arab. But this aspiration needs the positions of men who believe in their right and in their history and civilization. Our nation's civilizational torch has not been extinguished. Their [the Arabs'] march has stopped but it has not retreated.

We have always pledged to God to continue the struggle and we have always pledged to our brothers to continue the struggle until victory. It remains for our Arab brothers to pledge to support us with all forms of material and moral aid and we owe it to them to continue the procession of martyrdom, as they have known us to do. Our enemy is their enemy and those who covet us have endless ambitions. If God supports you, nobody can defeat you.

**It is a revolution until victory.**

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CSO: 4802

IRAQ MAKES AID PAYMENTS TO SYRIA, JORDAN AND THE PLO

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 21-27 Jan 80 p 8

[Article: "Iraq Pays the First Installment"]

[Text] Early this week Iraq paid the first installment of its 1980 assistance to Syria, Jordan and the PLO, amounting to US\$173,333,232, in implementation of the Baghdad summit resolutions.

Thamir Passuqi announced that Iraq had transferred \$91,618,800 to the Syrian Central Bank, \$904,266 to the Jordanian Central Bank, and \$12,381,200 to the PLO's National Palestinian Fund in the Arab Bank of Beirut. The sum of \$7,429,066 was also transferred to the PLO to support the Arab Palestinian people's perseverance, and two-thirds of the amount is being transferred in coordination with the Kingdom of Jordan in order to strengthen the perseverance of the Arab Palestinian people.

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

OAPEC SECRETARY GENERAL SEES NEW PRICING ARRANGEMENTS FOR 1980'S

Kuwait AL-'ARABI in Arabic Jan 80 pp 32-33

[Article by Dr 'Ali 'Alifqah, OAPEC Secretary General: "Danger of Continued Pressure on Arab Oil"]

[Text] While acknowledging the difficulty of predicting the future of oil alternatives, reserves and prices, the general speculations stress that the oil shortage will continue until all oil is consumed unless new and enormous finds, such as the finds discovered in the 1950's and 1960's, are discovered in the future. Though this is a possibility, it is not expected to materialize. Oil depletion is as certain as "death." It is indubitable but nobody can determine its time.

Talk is heard every now and then about the possibility of the emergence of oil alternatives. So far, such alternatives have not been found. This is why some people prefer to use the expression of "energy supplements" rather than the phrase "oil alternatives." Nuclear energy, solar energy and electrical energy can act as fuel alternatives to oil but cannot be alternatives in the spheres of land, air and maritime transport and cannot be alternatives in the sphere of the petrochemical industry which depends on the oil and [natural] gas derivatives.

Whether we call them alternatives or supplements, they will undoubtedly undergo tangible development in the 1980's. But they will not develop at the required speed as a result of the dire need for research and large investments that have not been made sufficiently available yet. Consequently, oil will continue to be a main source of energy.

The Arab oil exporting countries face the danger of continued and greater pressure on the Arab oil than on other oil sources. The current policy of the industrial countries, especially the oil producing countries--such as the United States, Norway, Britain and Canada--is based on seeking to reduce local oil and gas production and to make up for this reduction by relying on the Arab oil for as long as the current policies continue. The industrial countries benefit from the oil and retain its yields either in return for their exports or in the form of assets deposited in their banks as set-term

deposits or as bonds. As a result of these exports and assets, the industrial countries get the oil and retain its revenues. Consequently, price increases will not affect them in the medium range and the long range.

Naturally, these statements are restricted to the industrial countries and do not apply to the developing countries that import oil and pay its price and that have little to export in return for the oil.

It is certain that the current reserves are much smaller than the world's and than the needs of the oil exporting countries. The solution lies in intensifying the search for oil in the 1980's and in streamlining the production operations so that the Arab oil may not be the first to be depleted. Though oil depletion means big difficulties for the industrial countries, it means foiling the growth and development possibilities of the Arab oil exporting countries, and no "man" can hasten toward his end. It is expected that pressures will continue to be exerted on the Arab world to spend more and, consequently, to be forced to increase its oil production.

For example, the conflicts and clashes that are experienced by some of the Arab world's countries lead, in addition to wasting lives and monies, to increased oil production and to frittering away the national wealth.

As for oil production, experts are now inclined to agree unanimously that the oil finds in the coming decade and the following one will be made in the oil exporting countries. Two thirds the oil reserves are in the Arab world. The responsibility emanating from this fact and the opportunity it gives the Arab world are no secret.

As for prices, which are organically tied to both the alternatives and the reserves, they are expected to continue to rise in the 1980's. The oil market is also expected to experience some fluctuations in the beginning of this year.

There may be changes in the oil prices as a result of the policies of the oil producing countries if the same policies currently followed by these countries persist and if they sell more of their oil when the prices rise and reduce their production when the prices fall. When production increases, the importing countries purchase and store oil. The importing countries have very large stores of oil at present. If the current production level persists, the purchasing countries will find themselves in a strong position and will be able to reduce their purchases while the producers persist in their current production levels, thus creating a market recession, as happened in 1975 when the spotmarket prices dropped below the posted prices. Currently, the situation is the opposite.

The prices must also rise not only in terms of cash value but also in terms of their real purchasing power. There is a legitimate demand for a rise in the actual annual prices, i.e. after a deduction of five percent for the inflation factor. This alone is liable to develop the alternatives and to

increase investments in the new prospecting operations, especially in the third world countries that are in the direst need of local [oil] resources. The rise in oil prices encourages them to engage in more extensive prospecting.

A study was presented by Algerian expert Ayatullah Husni to the latest OPEC meeting in Vienna and the industrial countries' representatives have found nothing with which to refute the figures contained in this study which has demonstrated that the inflation rate and the drop in the dollar exchange value cause an unreal rise in the prices.

If we examine the current price of \$20 per barrel, we will find that it is the same price of the barrel of oil in 1974, after exclusion of the inflation factor and the drop in the dollar value. We will also find that the real price per barrel before the latest increase, i.e. when the price was \$14 per barrel, was equal to \$7 per barrel in terms of purchasing power, with 1973 as the base year.

This affects at the same time the purchasing power of the assets--wrongly called the financial surplus--which has deteriorated due to the inflation factor and to the drop in the dollar value. The losses incurred by the oil producing countries in this manner between 1973 and 1979 have amounted to 70 billion dollars, i.e. to several million barrels of oil wasted aimlessly.

The reader can notice that the oil producing countries that produce more than they need suffer from the erosion of their assets and are compelled to go along with the market needs.

Finally, I expect that in the 1980's important plans which are awaiting the political decision and that seek a new means of oil pricing other than the existing one will see the light. The oil producing countries have several alternatives available to them: The use of an accounting unit other than the dollar and agreement among the oil exporting countries or among some of them to accept their currency as a means of payment. This latter alternative faces political and technical difficulties and some parties do not want to shoulder the political and technical burdens resulting from it.

These continue to be the most important projected and achievable ideas that will have significant economic effects.

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CSO: 4802

**SHAYKH OF AL-AZHAR CONDEMS INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN**

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 16 Jan 80 pp 14-15

[Interview with the shaykh of Al-Azhar, in Cairo, by Muhammad Nasr: "The shaykh of Al-Azhar demands that Moslems stand by Afghanistan; This Soviet Communist Invasion Will Extend to Other Moslem Countries; Communism Destroys Religions and Is Incompatible With All Human Values"--date not given]

[Text] In a special interview with Dr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Bisar, the shaykh of Al-Azhar, we asked his opinion concerning the communist invasion of the Moslem nation of Afghanistan, and its threat to other Moslem peoples whose fate now hangs in the balance, or one could say, rests on the palm of a devil.

The interview with the chief imam, in his home in Heliopolis, touched first on the position of the Moslem countries toward what is happening to the people of the Moslem country of Afghanistan, which is undergoing a communist invasion.

He said: "It is clear that communism is a materialistic, atheistic doctrine which denies the existence of the Almighty God; endeavors to destroy faith, liquidate nationalities, and change the religious laws, ideology, and conditions of the societies under its yoke; and imposes upon people a dreadful regime which destroys human dignity.

"It is self-evident that communism is more incompatible with Islam than with any other religion. This is because the doctrine of Islam means belief in God, his prophet, his angels, his holy books, his messengers and the Day of Judgment, as well as belief in fate, be it good or bad. Besides all this, belief in the Sharia of Islam is one of Islam's basic tenets. Thus, belief in the holy Koran as a divine revelation requires belief in its detailed as well as general precepts which are expounded in the Sunna of the Prophet."

The shaykh of Al-Azhar continued: "Islamic law lays down a system for a Moslem in all of his affairs. It is a system which is totally contrary to the course pursued by communism. It does not agree with communism in any aspect, as Al-Azhar has already pointed out in the past.

"The armed Soviet invasion is imposing communism on Moslem Afghanistan by force, in order to replace its religion, corrupt it, and transform it into an atheistic nation!"

In plain, angry excitement, and with the outburst of a righteous scholar, the shaykh of Al-Azhar added: "The principles of Islam in themselves, if granted the freedom to confront atheistic ideas, would stand as an impregnable barrier against this destructive trend. The Soviet Union has seen the firmness of the Islamic doctrine and the firmness of the Moslems when confronted with communist ideas. So it wanted to break this Islamic barrier by force and impose communism upon the people of Afghanistan, who find it odious.

"We do not consider it unlikely that this invasion will spread, today or tomorrow, to other Moslem countries. For this reason it is the religious duty of the Moslem nations to push the communist invasion out of Afghanistan. Otherwise, they will all have sinned before God."

The shaykh was silent for a minute, and then said: "We ask the Almighty God to unite all Moslems in the face of this great mishap, to keep Afghanistan Moslem, and to protect the Moslems in countries under the yoke of communist rule."

[Question] Should not Al-Azhar immediately draw up a precise plan for dealing with contamination of or possible harm to Egyptian Society from alien ideas and ideologies competing around us, in the Arab World itself?

[Answer] We have already made it clear that Al-Azhar's plan for confronting alien ideas is the Koran. We have already set up a suitable new program for missionary and theology colleges in the University of Al-Azhar, so that our young men will be well informed when they render their duty to society in the field of religious and intellectual guidance.

#### All Must Stand Up Against the Destructive Movements

[Question] What about Mr Tharwat Abazah's reference in an article to a university professor overstepping his bounds by preaching communism during his lectures and assigning a book of his, to young students, in which this cursed doctrine is glorified? What means does the chief imam have to insure elimination of such movements at the university level?

[Answer] It really is our duty to stand up against trends which destroy the bases of religion and which are incompatible with human dignity. Our means of doing this is the Koran. In Al-Azhar and in the other universities, we must show our young people the true nature of these doctrines and how dangerous they are. The explanation must be fair when it clarifies the truth--the truth about these doctrines, and the truth about the noble traits of our true religion.

The government has another tool in its hands, namely that of putting an end to the open and hidden propaganda methods of these corrupting ideologies!

### Closing Ranks Has Become a Necessity

The interview then shifted to the role played by Al-Azhar in uniting the ranks of the Moslems to ward off the dangers surrounding them, and on whether it is now capable of inducing the governments of the Moslem world to unite before it is too late, instead of engaging in fraternal strife.

The venerable shaykh, who has reached 70 years of age and is still as active and alert as a 30-year-old man, smiled and said: "By the grace of God, al-Azhar has a special place in the hearts of the Moslems of the world. Sometimes a dispute occurs between Moslem governments, but this does not greatly affect relations between Al-Azhar and Moslem organizations and governments, because they view Al-Azhar as an institution which belongs to all Moslems and which provides them with Islamic scholars and with answers as to the rules of Islamic law on matters affecting their religious and worldly life. Al-Azhar is the primary authority for clarification of matters of religion in which they have complete confidence and trust. Up till now no institution has enjoyed the status among the peoples of the Moslem world that Al-Azhar has.

"Relations today between us and Moslem institutions, organizations and governments are firm and good. There is between us and Islamic scholars in all countries mutual consultation, exchanges of visits, and exchanges of opinion on matters which are brought up. The most recent example of this is the incident in the Holy Mosque in Mecca. Exchanges of messages and opinions concerning this matter went on between us and the Islamic scholars of Saudi Arabia and other countries."

The shaykh of Al-Azhar continued: "There is no doubt that Al-Azhar strives hard and successfully, God willing, to unite the Moslems and to reconcile them whenever they have a dispute. But things occur as they are destined to and at their appointed time, and God's laws are ever present."

### Number of Specialized Religious Scholars Should Be Increased

[Question] Egypt has 25,000 mosques, according to figures put out by the Ministry of Awqaf. These mosques are capable of shaping an Islamic consensus, if they carry out their mission by legitimate means and make a sincere appeal. But, as we know, there are no more than 2,000 religious scholars and specialists who work in these mosques and who are qualified to do sound missionary work. When will these mosques be provided with a suitable number of people to do sound missionary work, so as to do away with the screaming and confusion that some of them resort to when they make their religious appeals?"

[Answer] Al-Azhar dedicated itslef from its inception to the preservation and promotion of the legacy of Islam and to the propagation of the faith through wisdom and good counsel in Egypt as well as other countries of the Moslem world.

Al-Azhar bears the responsibility of graduating enlightened missionaries and religious scholars to meet the needs of the Moslem community in its mosques, schools, and other educational institutions. But because of the population growth in Egypt, the increase in number of mosques, and the expansion of education in them, the number of graduates from Al-Azhar has not kept pace with the higher needs for teachers and preachers.

Graduating enough Al-Azhar religious scholars to meet the needs of Egypt as well as the other Moslem countries is an obligation and religious duty rendered by Egypt. In fact, we do face the problem of turning out less graduates than is needed to satisfy the needs of religious education, guidance, and orientation. However, the new plans that we have made for Al-Azhar will help to increase the number of its graduates, with the hope of meeting in the near future the needs of Egypt and the other Moslem countries for enlightened religious scholars.

#### Islamic Law Protects Private Property

[Question] Should not the Ministry of Awqaf dedicate itself entirely to missionary work, rather than to administration of Moslem religious endowments? Moreover, why are the two types of the religious endowment not done away with?

[Answer] The realm of Islamic missionary activity is a broad one, which absorbs a great deal of work and energy. There is no harm if, in addition to Al-Azhar, one or more Ministries [of the Government] turn their attention to it.

Now as to your question as to why the two types of religious endowment are not done away with, it makes one stop and think. If money or property is endowed as a type of charitable gift, it is no longer the property of its owner, or even the property of the government. It becomes the property of God. Islamic law protects individual property to the utmost possible degree. One of the functions of Islamic law is to protect the individual as well as his property and his honor.

For this reason, what a property-owner wishes to do with his property is respected, as long as what he wishes to do does not conflict with the rules of true Islamic law. If he wants to dedicate his property to charity, it is a gift to God, and his desire must be respected. It is not right for anyone to freely dispose of this endowed property by consuming, using or transferring its ownership to others.

In essence, the administrator of the religious endowment may administer it as a trustee who carries out the stipulation made by the trustor, and not as an owner of the property. In this task, the administrator resembles the guardian of the property of an orphan. The guardian invests or utilizes the property for the benefit of the orphan, and does not consume it. On this basis, the administrator is not allowed to sell the endowment or to

dispose of the corpus, except in an exchange serving the interests of the endowment itself and its purposes.

Religious endowments have a noble aim, namely to please God by improving the condition of the community and meeting its needs. Some aims of the religious endowment are to sponsor schools, mosques, hospitals, and orphanages, as well as to feed the poor, give aid to students, and so on.

These are deeds which preserve for society a basic measure of security, protection, self-sufficiency, and community cohesion. Charitable Moslem individuals have resorted to religious endowments at different times in history in order to deal with a multitude of problems. Religious endowments have made a substantial contribution to social reform and progress in the areas of education, health, and social and religious welfare.

#### No Obstacles in the Way of Applying the Sharia

[Question] The next to last question is an inquiry which concerns one of your previous public statements to the effect that application of the Sharia is a demand of the masses to cleanse society of corruption. When and how can this be done?

[Answer] If we have said that application of the Sharia is a legitimate demand to cleanse society of corruption, we should not be asked when and how it can be done. Your question suggests that there are material or timing obstacles in the way of applying the Sharia, or that there are obstacles in the way of reforming society and cleansing it of corruption.

The truth is that there are no obstacles which prevent the nation from reconstituting its fundamental principles and its Sharia. The matter comes near to requiring no more than a modification of some of the provisions of the civil, commercial and penal codes.

If we find some paragraphs that require study with regard to modifying the banking or financial system, there is no obstacle to providing an opportunity for such study, so that transition will not be sudden and lead to damage of the national economy.

#### Increasing Number of Religious Institutes

The last question put to the shaykh of Al-Azhar dealt with the subject of increasing the construction of religious institutes, as envisioned by the late shaykh of Al-Azhar, Dr 'Abd-al-Halim Mahmud, so that these institutes can meet the future needs of all the governorates.

Shaykh Bisar answered this question as follows: "Yes, God willing, there will be a continued increase in the construction of religious institutes, within the limitations of Al-Azhar's budget, in a manner which will meet all the needs of these new institutes for equipment, school materials and teaching faculties, and will be in keeping with the needs of the towns, the governments and Al-Azhar.

ALGERIA

PRESIDENT BENJEDID'S PERFORMANCE ASSESSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Feb 80 pp 1, 7

[Article by Daniel Junqua: "President Chadli Bendjedid's Realism"]

[Text] One year ago, on 8 February 1979, Colonel Chadli Bendjedid, former chief of the Oran military region, member of the Revolutionary Council, established by Boumediene in 1965, was declared the president-elect of the Algerian Republic. The single candidate invested by the FLN [National Liberation Front] at the time of the congress held several days previously, he received 99.51 percent of the votes cast. This 50-year old man of trust-inspiring appearance, from a modest family in the country's eastern area, had up to then known only one world, that of the army. First, that of national liberation, the ALN [National Liberation Army] which he joined only a few months after the armed struggle broke out in November 1954, then the ANP [People's National Army] forged by Houari Boumediene. It was above all the will of that army, which he sometimes modestly recognizes as "having taught him everything," that brought about his becoming chief of state.

Colonel Bendjedid gave the impression of being a compromise candidate. There were many among the Algerians themselves who were to wonder about the political merits of the new chief of state and his ability to govern. His experience in public affairs seemed very limited and nothing appeared to have prepared him for a "national destiny" that he ostensibly had never himself envisaged.

The succession was all the more awkward in that the country on the threshold of a new phase in its development had to face up to serious economic and social problems and make difficult choices. Outside the country the Western Saharan conflict and tension with Morocco continued to keep a threat hovering over Algeria's security.

A year has gone by. The country is, of course, experiencing more or less serious, more or less cyclical difficulties, but it does not seem to be in a state of crisis and is not going through the convulsive movements that are upsetting a number of African states, some of them nearby. This stability, this calm, are undeniably partly attributable to Chadli Bendjedid.

By training and by temperament, the chief of state is more an administrator than an ideologist. A mediocre orator, to major television speeches he prefers meetings with national or local cadres with whom it is possible to have a dialogue. "By adopting the 1976 National Charter," his collaborators readily recall, "the Algerians defined their choices. These are irreversible. Now they must be translated into action and the president is eager to do so, preferring actions to slogans." And one of those close to the chief state likes to sum up the situation as follows: "The score is set down in writing, it is the National Charter. The instruments exist, they are the institutions set up at all levels of the state for political, administrative and economic affairs. Only the conductor has changed. He conducts the same symphony even if his style is different." Two words define this style: realism and level-headedness. It characterizes the action conducted by the chief of state in all spheres.

In the political sphere, President Bendjedid first made a point of getting the institutions to function in a climate of concerted effort and dialogue. Although the constitution gives him powers as broad as those of his predecessor, he has encouraged all officials to assume their duties fully, being content to arbitrate in the event of disagreements and refusing to take the place of the authorities concerned to settle certain problems. Thus he supported the action taken by the party's coordinator, Yahlaoui, to restructure and make the FLN more dynamic and restore to it its rather considerably undermined credit among the popular masses.

Contrary to the analyses effected at one time by certain tendencies of the Algerian opposition, and in particular by Boudiaf's PRS [Party of the Socialist Revolution], the two men's actions turned out to be largely complementary and it does not appear that a struggle to win power set them against each other.

In a general way the balances achieved with difficulty at the party's fourth congress have been maintained and the most recent measures taken by the chief of state--Bouteflika's departure from the government, the appointment of Benhamouda to the Ministry of Interior and of Taleb Ibrahimi as head of the party's education and training committee--did not essentially bring them back into question. The removal of Bouteflika merely confirmed what was already a fact, the former minister of foreign affairs having participated very little in the government's actions, his state of health obliging him to receive care abroad. This explanation, though partly true, doubtless does not take all of the facts into account. However that may be, Bouteflika has for several weeks seemed to have decided to get back into the political game and has turned up at various official events.

Respect for the institutions, a concern for dialogue, maintaining balances, but also and increasingly the affirmation of a personal authority and a will to have order respected. It was the chief of state who thus decided last October to remove from the government the minister of hydraulics, Ghozali, guilty in his view of having failed in his duty to be discreet by making public his dispute with his colleague on energy, Nabi.

On the other hand, if Algeria is experiencing greater freedom of speech at all levels and in particular at the time of National Assembly debates, the liberalization that some thought could be predicted has not come about. The steps taken in the rush and tumble of the presidential elections--release of some individuals convicted of political crimes, suppression of permits to leave the country, easing of the regulations covering Ben Bella's imprisonment--were short-lived. The contacts made with some of the opposition residing abroad, such as Colonel Tahar Zbiri, Ali Mahsas and Ait Ahmed, ended abruptly. In the various statements made on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the launching of the struggle for national liberation, the chief of state clearly indicated that any idea of negotiating with members of the opposition was out of the question. What is demanded of them is to rally purely and simply to the regime's choices and institutions. And then, it is specified, they must not have participated in antinational schemings, a formula which seems aimed at Lebjaoui and Boudiaf most particularly.

#### Economizing Energy Resources

In the economic sphere, the change on the contrary may have appeared to take the lead from continuity. Again, in the name of realism, a vast undertaking to assess the results achieved by the two 5-year plans, 1969-1973 and 1974-1979, has been initiated. It is not yet finished. But it has already shed light on a considerable number of gaps, delays, inadequacies, disparities. It is not a matter for all that, the authorities say, of condemning a policy with which all of the current officials have been associated and which has given ample positive results in that it has in particular made possible the creation of some 700,000 jobs. But there are many who recognize the need for "readjustments" and first of all for the benefit of an increasingly abandoned agriculture, as it has been throughout the Third World, by peasants fascinated by city factories. Industrialization itself is to be the subject of revisions.

It is essential both to make it produce profits and to fill out the industrial fabric by establishing many small and medium-sized enterprises utilizing simple techniques. President Bendjedid also stresses the need to meet the citizens' vital requirements by ensuring for them the water, housing, care, education, transportation, that they must have.

The chief of state on the other hand underscores his concern to conserve the nation's energy resources for the benefit of future generations. At the present rate of exploitation, petroleum reserves as now calculated will be exhausted in a year. The whole problem is to sell enough petroleum and gas abroad to be in a position to finance continued development while protecting the existence of reserves to ensure the country's energy independence on a medium-term basis.

The reflecting now going on could thus lead in a few months to substantial changes. But there again there is no question of altering basic orientations or, in particular, of bringing back into question the state's

all-encompassing power in economic matters. Some decisions could have the value of dogma. This is especially the case of the nationalizing of foreign trade which is nevertheless the subject of strong criticism in some circles. In the distribution sphere, President Bendjedid's accession to power has not changed anything for the man in the street who is daily confronted with the problems of "penury." This is a source of speculation, corruption, "schemes," and engenders inflation.

Two elements, however, work to the chief of state's advantage and makes it possible to look at the near future with some optimism. First of all rain fell abundantly this past fall and at the onset of winter creating conditions favorable for a bountiful cereal harvest. Then, the increase in the price of a barrel of petroleum (130 percent in 1 year) secures increased revenue for Algeria. In 1979 hydrocarbon export receipts amounted to \$9,700,000,000 instead of the \$6,200,000,000 in 1978. Algeria, which had become heavily indebted, last year devoted only 21 percent of its total exports to repaying its loans instead of the 24 percent initially anticipated. This percentage will probably drop another 3 points in 1980.

Finally, it is in the sphere of foreign policy that the realism and level-headedness advocated by President Bendjedid have given the best proof of their effectiveness. In the Western Sahara affair, Algeria led the battle for recognition of the Western Saharan people's right to self-determination --an especially popular principle among the peoples of the Third World. In Monrovia, at the time of the OAU summit meeting, as in Havana at the non-aligned conference, the Algerian chief of state avoided pushing himself to the forefront, preferring to act on the sidelines of its public sessions. This discretion was appreciated and rewarding. The POLISARIO Front went from victory to victory and the resolutions in its favor won substantial majorities, including at the United Nations.

It is also in the name of realism that the president has shown himself to favor an attempt at a rapprochement with France and has supported the efforts expended in this connection by the minister of foreign affairs, Benyahia, but there again it would not be true to talk of a "shift." Algerian diplomacy remains based on national independence, nonalignment, the anti-imperialist struggle, and support for liberation movements. It will only be possible to engage in a fruitful dialogue with Paris if its policies are acknowledged and respected by the French leaders.

8094

CSO: 4400

## MILITANTS SEEN AS OBSTACLE TO BANI-SADR

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 24 Feb 80 p 5

[Excerpts] The matter of domestic policy is of immediate and priority importance to Bani-Sadr. Due to the revolutionary upheaval which has lasted more than a year, he has been unable to overcome the distortions resulting from the shah's policy of industrialization. In fact, the dissolution of the production apparatus is almost entire and the country is on the verge of economic chaos. Bani-Sadr's economic concepts are considerably vague. However, it is a fact that he has realized the urgency of solving economic tasks. To do this, he must consolidate his power and establish at least a minimum of stability. As the first step, he must somehow "free himself" of those who are keeping the American embassy under occupation. To be more precise, he must rid himself of the occupiers to the extent that they represent separate power centers having bases in the revolutionary council. Among the mutual interests lying behind the confrontation [with the USA] there are some of serious international impact since the matter of Afghanistan. The active antipathy of the Iranians towards the government of Afghanistan and their readiness to intervene from time to time obviously reveals possibilities to the strategic planners of Washington which they would happily exploit.

On 19 February a significant change occurred in the internal power relations of Iran. Khomeini, still in the hospital, named Bani-Sadr commander in chief of the armed forces. In connection with the move Khomeini said: "There is need for a greater centralization of power for Iran during their critical period." Basically, the decision signals that Khomeini supports Bani-Sadr. According to the approved constitution of Islam, the commander-in-chief has the right to declare war and peace. In addition, he appoints the chief of staff and the members of the national security council. At all events, it is questionable whether Bani-Sadr, who continues to be faced by a significant opposition, can make use of the sphere of authority which has been formally provided for him.

CSO: 2500

**FORQAN PLOT TO BLOW UP 'KEYHAN' INVESTIGATED**

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Jan 80 p 12

[Text] A conspiracy undertaken by members of the Forqan gang, to blow up KEYHAN has been disclosed. Word of the bombing had earlier been relayed to KEYHAN by an unknown party. But prior to the intended bombing, members of the aforesaid gang had agreed to test the explosive power of this bomb. A sample of the bomb, going off in the experimentor's hand at the time of the experiment, snuffed out his life.

The facts concerning the detonation of this bomb were released on 12 January 1980 by members of the detachment of the Revolutionary Guard attached to Sector Five, Tehran. Guards were quickly dispatched to the scene of events at Sorkhehesar. Here they noticed, in the aftermath of the explosion, that one young man had his hand and leg blown off and that another, who might be his friend, was severely wounded. These two young men, named Kamiz 'Abbasi Kosanji and Mahmud Kashani, were taken to the hospital, their bodies soaked with blood. Kamiz, whose hand and leg had been severed, died. Medical treatment of Kashani continued until he had recovered health and was turned over to the Revolutionary Guard.

According to memorandum number five of the Army of the Revolutionary Islamic Guard of Iran, Mahmud Kashani, son of Esma'il has confessed in preliminary hearings that a conspiracy had been formed to blow up KEYHAN; that with the same intent a bomb of exceptional destructive power had been quickly prepared, by which means KEYHAN would be obliterated; and that in order to determine the destructive power of this bomb, which was similar to the bomb that had been intended to detonate at KEYHAN, he and his friend were, respectively, wounded and killed.

An unknown party, according to the account of KEYHAN'S correspondent, revealed to KEYHAN that a bomb, scheduled to go off in a few hours, had been planted in a corner of the KEYHAN plant. This was several days before the Forqan group's experimental detonation. A number of the correspondent's colleagues, nevertheless, believed the phone message to be no more than a hoax. Meanwhile, the circumstances were revealed to individual soldiers of the Revolutionary Guard stationed at KEYHAN. And their finding a bomb

in the course of the affair gave the story credibility. An extensive search through all the sections of KEYHAN was made--in a discreet manner to prevent the outbreak of panic--but nothing of a suspicious nature turned up.

By the time when, after the arrest of elements of the Forqan gang, and after the completion of investigation of one of that gang's operations, the Revolutionary Guard made public the relevant details of a conspiracy of a bombing plan by the Forqan gang in their memorandum number five.

#### The Revolutionary Guard Memorandum

With the publication of their announcement number five in connection with the arrest of Forqan gang members, the Central Revolutionary Army Guard exposed the conspiracy by members of this group to detonate a bomb in the KEYHAN plant. In this way, it came out that for six months the leader of Forqan had had a plan to wipe out and destroy KEYHAN, but due to the carelessness of the instigators this explosion and plan met with failure.

The text of the Central Islamic Revolutionary Guard memorandum provides the following explanation:

"And when they are told: 'don't stir up evil,' they reply, 'We are upright men!' (11); For although we know them for evil-doers they have neither knowledge nor perception of the fact. (12)." (Quotations from Koran II (AL-BAQARA): 11-12). We say that the members of the Forqan gang hold and have held mistaken opinions and have mental habits unsound from the point of view of Islam and the Koran, opinions and mental habits profitable to the world-consuming imperialism of America, which is an enemy of everyone and everything Islamic and to the Revolution and humanity --both in the framing of the act they had planned and in the extent to which they carried it out. On the basis of what has come to hand, this gang had decided upon a program of terror greater than any decided upon either by persons or separate individuals. The obliteration of the KEYHAN plant was also a part of this gang's program. KEYHAN newspaper is one of those centers that have long been high-priority targets in Forqan's program of destruction, owing to the former's Moslim personnel. Toward this end, a group of three [sic] individual members of the Forqan gang had gone at a certain hour of 20 Deh, 10 January 1980 to the side streets of Sorkhehesar in order to test the explosive power of the bomb they intended to detonate at KEYHAN. Through carelessness, the said bomb detonated, resulting in their death. One of the two, named Kambiz 'Abbas Koshanji, aged 18, had been kept in hiding during the month of Deh at many of the gang's safehouses. Yesterday the identity of another member of the gang, who had participated in the gang's terrorist activities and had thereby been involved as car driver at the time of the assassination of the Ayatollah Doctor Mofatteh, also became known. This individual is Mahmud Kashani, son of Isma'il, aged 21. The latter had helped to form the plan to assassinate the Hujjatollah Muhammad Baqer Dashtiyani, president of the Islamic

Revolutionary Committee for Sector 13, and had taken part as car driver on the occasion of Doctor Mofatteh's assassination. Incidentally, Kashani has also been shown to have been an accomplice in the robbery of the Bucharest Street branch of the Saderat Bank, along with several other members of the gang.

One of the authorities of the Revolutionary Guard, who has verified this news and voluntarily released the text of memorandum number five, particularly as concerns the capture of other members of the gang, said: "After the arrest and identification of most of the Forqan gang members, we succeeded in apprehending six more gang members. But there remain a number of other individuals and members of this gang who are still active and whom we are pursuing." He expressed "an increasing hopefulness that we will apprehend the remaining members in the next few days and bring them to the stations, that is, to examine them, gain further disclosures about the gang network and, thereby, bring them to justice."

9553

CSO: 4906

COLONEL QADHDHAFI: 'THE SHAH IS A THIEF, HIS HANDS SHOULD BE CUT OFF'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 24 Jan 80 pp 4, 8

[Interview with Qadhafi by Dr Mansur Taraji]

[Text] Doctor Mansur Taraji, ETTELA'AT'S representative in Europe, has returned to Tehran following a two-month visit to Lebanon, Syria, Algeria and Libya. His visit to those countries was aimed at the opening of the doors which had been shut to the Iranian people and the readers of ETTELA'AT for 25 years by a dictatorial and oppressive regime. During that period visit to a progressive Arab country by an Iranian journalist was considered an unforgivable sin, especially if he had tried to report and draw a true picture of the lands he had visited. Those black walls of restrictions have now crumbled and Iranians are now able to read true reports by Iranian journalists about their struggling brothers in the Islamic world.

During his two-month tour, Taraji was able to meet leaders of the world's liberation movements, top government leaders, responsible personalities and common folks and learn how they viewed Iran's revolution and the way it was reflected in the Islamic world.

This is the first time after the Iranian revolution that an Iranian journalist has begun researching reactions in the Islamic world of the Iranian revolution. Taraji's first series of reports concerning Palestinian revolution and crimes of Zionism appeared in ETTELA'AT around the end of Azar [December]. His next series begin with his interview with Mu'ammar Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution.

On 1 September 1969, at the height of oppression in Iran, the world suddenly learned that 12 patriotic Libyan army officers had succeeded in overthrowing

the monarchic regime of Edris Al-Sannusi. Three days later it was reported in the world press that the leader of the (Libyan) liberation movement was a 27-year old man called Mu'ammar Qadhafi. Everything written in the Persian press about Libya in the past 10 years had been either dictated by the Shah's foreign policy or consisted of poor translation of material written in the western press. Iranians were never able to learn what was actually happening in Libya. Qadhafi is the only head of an Islamic nation who had never established diplomatic relations with the former Shah's regime. The shah used to consider him his sworn enemy. He was well aware Libya was giving its support to the movement which had made his overthrow its main goal. Everything published in the Persian press in the past 10 years about Libya and Qadhafi was twisted and distorted and was insulting to the Libyan nation. Libya was the only country in the OPEC which had resisted and stood up against the oil companies during the years 1971 to 1974 enabling OPEC member nations to impose their will on the oil companies. But it was the shah who claimed the credit and many people thought that he was the real leader in the fight against oil companies. What do we know about the Libyan people and the policies of colonel Qadhafi? Nothing.

What did the Iranian people think about colonel Qadhafi during the shah's regime? Our people thought of him as a colonel, wearing dark glasses, holding a stick in one hand. Someone resembling James Bond or a leader of the world terrorists speaking irresponsibly about his paratroopers ready to be dropped somewhere in the Persian Gulf. Libyans were living in poverty while this mad man was wasting their wealth buying weapons and supporting corrupt and dictatorial African regimes. This was the picture of colonel Qadhafi as drawn by the shah's agents leaving an imprint in my mind. After having left Tripoli and while flying over the Mediterranean I began thinking about one of the shah's biggest crime--that of hiding for some 25 years the facts about what was taking place beyond Iran's frontiers.

It is a sad commentary for our press that its first newsman should visit Libya ten years after its revolution considered to have been the turning point in the history of the Arab world. Eighteen years have passed since the Algerian revolution and no Iranian journalist has yet drawn a true picture of that country for the Iranians (except with a translation in 1962 by this writer of the Book entitled Jamila Bou-Pasha Visited the Algerian Front). What do we know about Syria and the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people? Nothing. This is a gradual national suicide, spiritual and moral. This is just one of the Shah's crimes that were committed a nation's political culture.

Our dependence was not only economic, industrial and political. We were so dependent that, despite having been rich culturally and politically, our press had become dependent on what western journalists wrote, dictated by their own interests, and facts were presented in a distorted fashion. During important events in the world the smallest newspapers dispatched reporters to the scenes to cover those events and inform their readers

directly and independently. But the Iranian press, humiliated by the shah's agents, was not present anywhere. Only at few occasions was the national press able to achieve anything in the absence of the shah's censure agents,

Now that the Iranian revolution has opened new horizons for the press Iranian journalists face a serious challenge. He must report factually and objectively. His reporting must be based on what he is able to see and witness and not on his feelings. He must never forget the oath of the pen he has taken before the Almighty God. [signed] Doctor Mansur Taraji.

My interview with Mu'ammar Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, was held in the city of Benghazi in a small and simple room. I was assisted by Ebrahim Ebjad [sic] who is, like Qadhafi himself, the son of the desert and as simple-living as African desert dwellers. Acting as my interpreter was doctor Sa'id, Secretary of Libya's People's Committee in Paris (Ambassador). Ebrahim Ebjad, who had been with Qadhafi since childhood, is a powerful and influential man but lives a simple life, like the rest of people in Libya, and mingles with the common folks and understands their language. He lives in a modest room at Hotel Algiers in Benghazi.

Assisted by Ebrahim Ebjad and through Ahmad Shahati [sic], diplomatic chief of the Libyan revolution, I asked for an interview with colonel Qadhafi. Leaders of the Iranian revolution are well-known to Mr. Shahati who claimed he had met Imam Khomeyni several times. Out of respect for the Iranian revolution, Qadhafi agreed to sit down and talk to us for several hours on the condition I print every word he said to which I agreed. The following is exactly what he said, word for word. It was recorded on tapes and is available in full.

I did not ask Qadhafi anything about Yasser Arafat. He himself brought up the issue. Whatever he said, correct or not, is up to him. ETTELA'AT is duty-bound to publish whatever explanation given in this respect by leaders of the Al-Fatah. It is hoped that our readers realize how important are the duties of the Iranian journalists at this period of time and how vital they are for the Iranian revolution and therefore discard any pre-judgement.

Taraji: Brother Qadhafi, allow me first to thank you for having agreed to this interview. I am well aware how busy you are with both foreign and domestic affairs. I also know that I am the first Iranian journalist to be received by you because of the importance you attach to the Iranian revolution and to the great leader of the Islamic world, Ayatollah Imam Khomeyni.

Your revolution took place on 1 September 1969 and it is regrettable that I am visiting your country 10 years late. You are well aware that the

dictator shah would not allow our people to learn about you and the mentioning of the Libyan revolution in our press was considered an unforgivable sin. Anyway, we have a saying in Persian which is: no matter when one catches a fish it will be fresh [better late than never]. My first question is how do you analyze the Iranian revolution? How do you view it with its various aspects? What sort of experience could it be for other nations and what relations do you see between the Iranian revolution and the Libyan revolution?

Qadhafi: I have often expressed my views about the Iranian revolution and have always considered it to be not only a revolution of Iran but a world Islamic revolution. I have always believed that the carrying out of the principles of and the issues suggested by the Libyan revolution have been necessary for the Iranian revolution. Iranian revolution has been a revolution of the people in the real sense of the word. Relation between the Iranian revolution and the Libyan revolution has been a strategic one, a relation based on the sacred Koran. Both are continuous and complementary. By the Iranian revolution and the Libyan revolution a new world could be created entirely different from what we have had before. This new world will be a world of the masses, of the people. The two revolutions are the key for the making of the new world, the world of the masses. Iranian revolution is based on the revolution of the Islamic masses.

Unlike a great number of political leaders I have interviewed, Qadhafi speaks rather calmly and without outburst of emotions. He sticks to the issues and answers them directly. I asked him:

#### Anti-Imperialist Characteristics:

Taraji: In post Iranian revolution era what changes do you expect in relations between the Libyan Republic and the Islamic Republic of Iran and how these changes could effect various economic, political and social matters:

Qadhafi: Iranian and Libyan revolutions are two revolutions of the masses which have taken place in the Islamic world. These are two historical movements having anti-imperialistic characteristics. The two movements are the first--notice that I said are the first--movements in the Islamic world with progressive characteristics. All other movements so far had been reactionary and rightist. It is a distinct characteristic of the rightists and reactionaries to side with imperialism. That is one reason why imperialism has always supported reactionary Islamic movements. Imperialism never feared them but has approved of them and supported them. On the other hand, Marxist movements have always attempted to present themselves as the only progressive movements in the Islamic world and, therefore, all other progressive political movements in the Islamic world have no choice but to join them.

Following the revolutions in Iran and Lyba and through the Green Book (written by Qadhdhafi as a guideline for the Libyan revolution), one is convinced that now a new movement, entirely different from the reactionary and Marxist movements, has emerged in the Islamic world. In other words, fresh possibilities for the growth of new and progressive movements in the Islamic world have now emerged. Libyan and Iranian revolutions have been necessary for the unity of the two Islamic worlds--meaning the Sunnis and the Shi'ites.

**Anti-Imperialist Campaign:**

Taraji: Brother Qadhdhafi, you have been the symbol of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism in the Arab world. If you will kindly express your views regarding the struggle against imperialism and Zionism so the Iranian people could have a better and more vivid understanding of it.

Qadhdhafi: From our point of view all nations are led by dictators and that dictators dominate all nations. The only way they could be liberated is through revolution of the masses, like the Iranian revolution, and the coming to power of the people. It is up to the revolutionary committees to incite people to revolt and insure their coming to power.

We urge and encourage all the exploited workers of the world to try to change their status from that of wage earners to those of sharing profits in the plants where they work. Workers must impose their profit-sharing status and thus free themselves forever from the domination of those wielding power in the name of government or individuals. We also encourage farmers to seize the land they cultivate and free themselves forever from domination of feudals and landlords. At the same time, we also encourage tenants living in apartment houses not owned by them to take possession of their apartments and forever free themselves from the yokes of their landlords.

To further explain our housing policy, let us say that, for example, if a family lives in a building owned by someone else it has the right to take ownership of the apartment he lives in and has the choice to either compensate the landlord or not. Anyway, this is something he can decide upon and not the landlord.

Colonel Qadhdhafi paused and with a smile on his face said: For this reason the Iranian and Libyan revolutions must be approached by the principles put forward in the "Green Book" (written by Qadhdhafi). The Iranian and Libyan revolutions could encourage nations of the world to free themselves from every form of oppression and dictatorship.

Qadhdhafi, while adjusting his cloak over his shoulders, stared straight into my eyes and added: I believe I can see a light of hope that will be important for Iran and the world. It appears that at the start of the

Iranian revolution it was the revolutionary committees that were able to stir up and spread revolutionary thoughts. I believe these committees will be able to someday firmly establish the power of the people in the country. But regarding your question the struggle against imperialism and zionism, I am happy that hundreds of Iranian volunteers have gone to Lebanon to join their Palestinian brothers in their fight against Zionism. It is my earnest hope that the Iranian and Libyan revolutions could present a unified strategy to the Islamic world in the struggle against Zionism. In this struggle Iran can play a vital role, considering its capacity population-wise. We stand ready to play our part in this joint Iranian-Libyan anti-zionist effort including that of giving financial assistance.

True Independence:

Taraji: Brother Qadhafi, you are well aware that political independence could not be achieved without economic and industrial independence. There still are many countries in the Third World, especially in the Islamic world, that live under imperialism and exploitation. In your opinion what can the Islamic world do to achieve political, industrial and economic independence before it runs out of its natural resources especially oil?

Qadhafi: The Islamic world possesses a huge wealth. It is enough to notice that the majority of oil producing nations are Islamic. Therefore the wealth is in our hands. It is only wise that we spend it wisely. It is possible for us now to administer the world through this wealth, I emphasize again, which is in our hand.

A Market Like The Common Market:

Taraji: It is true that we have this wealth but, as I said before, most of the Islamic world is now ruled by rulers who are more representatives of the imperialists than that of their people. It is necessary to realize that some sort of economic and industrial cooperation between progressive nations is now possible. Is it possible to set up, among the Islamic nations, an organization like the Common Market in order to help increase their joint financial and industrial capacity and expand their trade through modern technology? If so, What programs do you have to offer?

Qadhafi: It is quite possible to set up, with the aid of some Islamic nations, a joint industry. It is also possible to carry out joint development plans for all Islamic countries. It is possible for us to free ourselves from the various types of economic shackles the international monopolists have imposed on us only if the Islamic countries would answer our call and we could coordinate our capabilities. Libya had been thinking in this direction and has prepared plans that soon will be made public. Potentials and power released in the Islamic world, such as in Iran, Algeria, Libya and Nigeria, are such that make it possible for them to impose their will on the world. We must sell our oil in exchange of

technology and modern industries. In view of their population and the economic and financial power enjoyed by these countries in the Islamic world they are capable of making their views accepted by the world if they remain united in action and in their views.

The Method to Fight Antirevolutionaries:

Taraji: Brother Qadhafi, from the very start of the Iranian revolution you have followed the events and know what was going on there. You know that we had some difficulty in crushing the anti-revolutionary elements. As a revolutionary, will you please describe your personal experience in the fight against antirevolutionaries.

Qadhafi: Let me tell you frankly that conditions under which all antirevolutionary forces could be crushed have not yet been created. These forces could be eliminated only after the masses have assumed power and begin to use it in the nation's interest. If efforts are made to set up a parliament (in the classical method) and form a government (in the common classical way) and if efforts are made to create all the traditional organizations, you will then reach a point you will find the nation isolated. At this point others will come to power and not the masses. Revolution cannot be ruled and directed by laws. It is the revolution that make the laws. Laws cannot impose themselves on revolutions.

The mistake committed by revolutionary committees in Iran was that they tried to use their power while their historical duty was to provoke and encourage the masses to take power into their hands and use it. In other words, people should have come to power and not the committees. We know that democracy without basic people's congresses [sic] is meaningless. In these congresses people, from every level, get together and express their views about laws and various social issues. Thus, without electing any representatives who may some time express views contrary to those of their constituents. People exchange views on various matters. This is direct democracy and not one of its intermediaries and agents.

Qadhafi, who spoke strongly in condemning classical parliamentary democracy, continued: without basic people's congresses power of the masses will never be realized. Antirevolutionaries could be eliminated only after masses have assumed power and are using it directly. With the creation of the people's committee there will be no more room for the antirevolutionaries. President, parties, governments, all must be eliminated because after people assume power no longer there will be room for these intermediaries that are placed between the masses and power.

Hostages in Tehran:

Taraji: Brother Qadhafi, What do you think about the American spy nest issue in Tehran, namely the taking of hostages of the so-called members of

the American embassy in Tehran by Iranian students? As you know extradition of the criminal shah to Iran and the return of his wealth is a condition for the freedom of the hostages. Leaders of a number of countries I have visited recently have urged that conditions for their freedom should be prepared. You know well that the Iranian nation cannot easily forget crimes committed against Iran by the shah and the United States. How do you view this situation?

Qadhafi: You know quite well that, on various occasions, Libya has made its views known in this matter. It is better that I don't repeat myself.

Extradition of the Shah:

Taraji: Three months have past since the incident and the Libyan Republic has not made any statement on this recently. I would like to know if you have any thing new to say.

Qadhafi: According to the international law and the Islamic law if the shah had asked any country for political asylum that country could not extradite him. But the shah has not asked for asylum and Iran can ask for his return and return of his personal wealth because what he owns belongs to the Iranian people and no one else. At the present time the shah is a thief and under the Islamic law his hands should be cut off. He was under conditions not to steal and yet he did. Following the 1 September 1969 revolution in which we toppled the monarchic regime in Libya we confiscated the entire wealth of the ousted monarch outside the country. He sought political asylum in Egypt and thus we were not able to extradite him. He now lives in Egypt and we have even agreed to give him a monthly allowance.

American Naval Maneuvering:

Taraji: Brother Qadhafi, you know that the United States has dispatched its naval force to the Sea of Oman close to the Iranian frontiers. If someday the United States interferes militarily in Iran will Libya send its armed forces to help Iran?

Qadhafi: Brother, don't have any doubt about it. It should not even be brought up. We have announced from the beginning that we were on the Iranian side and our army is at the disposal of Iran. We made our views known to the world and have formally told the United States we consider their military intervention in Iran as an intervention in Libya. Let me reveal to you for the first time that I personally informed Carter about Libya's policy with regard to the United States military intervention in Iran. I have told him in clear language that under any circumstance Libya will side with Iran in its struggle against imperialism.

Oil Weapon:

Taraji: If someday Iran asks countries that have announced their support

of the Iranian revolution to cut off the flow of their oil to the United States--in other words to use their oil as a weapon against the United States--will Libya help Iran and use its oil as a weapon against the United States?

Qadhafi: It is quite natural for us to use our oil as a weapon against the United States.

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AGUDAT ISRAEL CONVENTION DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv HAZOFEH in Hebrew 8 Jan 80 p 2

[Editorial: "NRP Voices Hopes for Cooperation Among All Religious Segments in Israel"]

[Text] The sixth Agudat Israel convention, which opened in Jerusalem on 7 January, takes place while Agudat Israel is a member of the coalition. The membership, with all the obligations that it entails, and after long years in the opposition, shows that instead of isolation from the public there is a growing tendency within Agudat Israel for at least partial participation with the mainstream of society. This tendency is accompanied by differences of opinion, because extreme wings are always in favor of isolation. It can only be hoped that Agudat Israel will actually and gradually become part of the state.

The editors welcome the delegates and guests who have come to the convention from all over the world. Among them are rabbis and rabbinical leaders who will discuss Jewish issues and the survival of Judaism in the present, as well as in the future. In view of the wave of conversions from Judaism and intermarriages that is sweeping Jewish communities in the diaspora, there is a vital need to form a public with a sense of belief and with knowledge of the Torah--an observant public. Such a public will nurture religious education, religious services, etc. It will form bridges to circles close to it in principles and approach as well as to others who are not close to it. The threat of spreading conversions raises the importance of finding a way back to our heritage.

The Mizrahi movement, founded 80 years ago, which set as its goal the future of the nation and its Torah based in Israel, has proven to be correct to a large extent. Agudat Israel, established 70 years ago as an opposition to Zionism, including religious Zionism, is holding its convention in Israeli Jerusalem. Reality has proven the truth of Zionism. Just as conversions overseas have to be stemmed, so does secularism of all varieties in Israel. There should be a spiritual campaign to broaden and deepen religious education, to influence in a friendly manner, to set the good example, and to strengthen cooperation among all segments of the religious community. The time of isolation, which has never been justified in

Israel in any way, is over. From now on we have to act in a broad minded fashion with the rest of the religious community, for the sake of the state, with the goal of a religious state in mind. There were and there still are differences of opinion. But beyond them there is a basis for a joint effort of the whole religious camp.

General Jewish issues on the agenda: the stemming of conversions of Jews in the western world; the saving of Russian Jewry and Jewry all over the Soviet block by increasing the number of emigrants from there and by channelling them to Israel; integrating the "dropouts" in the Jewish communities there by an effort to provide religious services to those remaining within the Soviet Union; and, last but not least, increasing immigration to Israel from the United States and west European countries. These are historical tasks whose implementation cannot be started without joint forces of observant, religious Jews devoted to national survival.

The State of Israel has become a Torah center for the whole Jewish people. This fact goes to show that the home of the Torah can only be in the state of the people of the Torah. The immigration in large numbers of religious Jews has to be encouraged by influencing people to save their children from foreign temptations, which are prevalent in the diaspora, for the sake of enlarging the traditional community in the country and for strengthening the state.

The centricity of the State of Israel for the Jewish public will become a reality when it becomes the center of Judaism in the very broad sense of the word. There is a chance to ensure the integrity of the people and its uniqueness when the amendments to the Law of Return and to the Law on Conversion are enacted, so as to combat Reform Judaism, secularism and parts of the Conservative movement.

Those who definitely claim that the State of Israel is the beginning of our redemption, and those who recognize it as an independent Jewish center that has absorbed many and is willing to absorb more, agree that the state is a dominant factor for the survival of the nation and of Judaism. The lights are accompanied by shadows. It is within our power to reduce the shadows and increase the light.

It is likely that familiar Agudat Israel themes from its extremist segments will also be heard during the convention. The fact that the president was not invited to the opening session indicates that there is still some hesitation in honoring the representative and symbol of the state. It is not impossible that there will be warnings here and there against getting too close to religious Zionism. But actually Agudat Israel has already turned in the right direction, which is leading the religious community to some real accomplishments.

Agudat Israel's convention will fulfill its mission if it increases peace within its own ranks, if it institutes proper relationships between itself and the rest of the religious community, and if it joins forces with the builders of the state, material and spiritual.

May God's grace be over all those coming to the convention and may their acts be blessed.

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## ISRAEL

### LAGGING ISRAELI PRODUCTIVITY

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 Jan 80 p 9

[Article: "Israeli Productivity Has not Improved, Widening Gap in This Respect between Israel and European Countries"]

[Text] When it comes to productivity there still is a growing gap between Israel and developed industrial countries. In recent years there have been no meaningful efforts to close this gap. This becomes obvious when Israel's productivity is compared with that of industrial countries.

A survey conducted by the Institute for Productivity and Production, which compared the average output per worker in Israel to that of workers in developed countries, states that between 1970 and 1978 the relative ranking of Israeli workers has declined. In 1970, the average output of an Israeli worker was \$4,960, and was higher than that of Italy and Japan, but lower than Germany, France, the United States, Sweden, Canada and Great Britain. In 1978, productivity was up by 127 percent compared with 1970 expressed in terms of current prices, and reached \$11,290, but its ranking dropped to the last among the above mentioned countries.

#### Construction Recessions

In order to get an idea of the size of the gap between Israeli workers and those in an industrialized, developed country, it might suffice to mention that the average output of an employee in the above mentioned countries is \$18,495, about \$7,215 higher than that attained in Israel.

Mr Israel Meidan, manager of the Institute for Productivity and Production, thinks that these are very disturbing data, if one is to remember that Israel's economic goal is to catch up with the standard of living of the industrialized countries of the West, not to increase the gap.

What are the factors that prevent Israeli workers from trying to close the gap between themselves and their colleagues in the developed industrial countries? The survey points out that the recession that hit the construction industry in recent years is mostly accountable for the slowdown in

the growth of the GNP in the seventies. Mr Meidan thinks that other industries, such as transportation and services "made their contribution" and prevented Israeli workers from attaining a higher level of productivity.

Between 1970 and 1978 agriculture was the leader in growth in both production and productivity. During this period the output per worker nearly doubled, from IL75,500 to IL140,000 in terms of 1978 prices.

The construction industry, on the other hand, registered a decline of about 12 percent in real production in the same 8 year period. Real output per worker was IL179,000 in 1970 and declined to an adjusted IL157,000 in 1978.

#### Hidden Unemployment

President of the contractors' association, Mr Avraham Shperling, is aware of the situation. According to him, this stems mostly from hidden unemployment in the industry, and the inability of construction workers to acquire advanced equipment which will improve productivity.

Mr Binyamin Kandler, economist of the contractors' association, estimates that hidden unemployment in the construction industry reaches 20-30 percent.

According to him, there are now 74,000 construction workers working on an estimated 5.5 million square meters of housing. The same number of workers, says Mr Kandler, constructed about 7.6 million square meters. Moreover, data reported by Mr Kandler reveals that in 1974, 247 km of roads were paved, compared with 237 in 1978. In 1974 about 129 km of road were widened; the figure for 1978 was 86 km. In 1974, 877 km of water and sewer pipes were laid, compared with 688 km in 1978.

According to Mr Shperling contractors are reluctant to fire workers fearing that they may not return to the industry. But Mr Meidan thinks that wages of workers from the territories enable contractors to use cheap labor, and prevent them from introducing modern technologies to the construction industry.

It should also be pointed out that the average productivity of Israeli workers was determined in these 8 years by the makeup of those joining the work force. The number of men went up by 15 percent (110,000) whereas the number of women increased by 50 percent (139,000). Most of them, about 90 percent, turned to services. This trend prevented a real improvement in productivity.

Another important factor was the 50 percent increase in the number of part time workers. One out of every five workers in Israel worked part time. Their number reached 280,000. This development caused the working hours to lag behind the increase in the number of employees, and a decline in the average work week from 40 to 37 hours.

**Productivity per Worker**  
**1970-1978**  
**(in terms of current American dollars)**

<b>Country</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1978</b>
Germany	7,170	25,710
France	7,150	22,310
U.S.	12,660	22,200
Sweden	8,540	20,880
Canada	10,510	20,770
Japan	3,880	17,900
Great Britain	4,960	12,490
Italy	4,840	11,840
Israel	4,960	11,280

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SHI'ITE LEADER SAYS LEBANESE ARMY MUST ENTER THE SOUTH

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 14-20 Jan 80 pp 22-23

[Interview with Vice President of the Supreme Shi'i Islamic Council Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, by Kamil Fa'ur]

[Text] Some circles in the PLO command believe that Vice President of the Supreme Shi'i Islamic Council Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din is the only one on the council who can be considered "both for and against the resistance." The other members are against it, don't want it in the south, and are looking for some way to get it out of there. It goes without saying that the Front to Preserve the South (a parliamentary grouping) shares this position, and Parliamentary President Kamil al-As'ad follows this line. As a result, the question now raised in PLO circles is: Should we continue gambling on Shams-al-Din, who is both for and against the resistance? The question is very important. The street in the south, or the popular quarters in Beirut, do not appreciate the situation any better than the Supreme Shi'i Council does. Therefore it is important to learn how Shams-al-Din thinks, what he wants, and what demands he feels should be Shi'ism's demands at this stage. What follows is an attempt to inquire into the thoughts of this man who has suddenly found himself in the position formerly filled by the now missing Musa al-Sadr. It is really a burden, but Shams-al-Din has now proven truly that he is no less gifted in political tactics than he is in his purely intellectual activities. Here is the text of the interview.

[Question] The Arab quadripartite follow-up committee began meeting in Beirut in accordance with the Tunis summit resolutions. What are your expectations in this respect, and what are you demanding of the committee?

[Answer] In our estimation, the Tunis resolutions did not meet our limited, unambitious expectations. We have pinned and we still pin our hopes on the implementation, whether from the standpoint of speed and advantage or sincerity and effectiveness. Even though the follow-up committee meets with our approval, nevertheless we look to the ones with real influence over its activities to facilitate its tasks, so that the average Lebanese citizen will not get the impression that what is given verbally is taken back by the hand.

#### The Key to the Solution is Bringing in the Army

[Question] The foremost matter on the follow-up committee's agenda is bringing the army into the south. Could we know what you think of the army as it is--i.e. from the standpoint of its function or from the standpoint of the authorities which determine its policy in the south?

[Answer] We are faced with one fact--there is an existing Lebanese army which might be subject to criticism by some people, perhaps including ourselves. But the serious situation in the south, which varies from occupation to settlement to partition and in all cases emigration, must be confronted. We cannot find a military solution to the Israeli menace to the south. We must create the political climate for removing the south from the sphere of danger, and the key to this climate is bringing in the army on the basis of a political framework guaranteed by the Arabs, and on the basis of Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian mutual understanding.

[Question] But this army will doubtless come up against Sa'd Haddad's forces or the veiled Israeli occupation of that part of the south which constitutes the axis for Israeli aspirations. The question is: can an army such as this one confront Israeli aspirations in the south?

[Answer] With respect to the southern issue, everyone's attention is concentrated on the Security Council resolutions which call for extending the state's authority and sovereignty over the entire south. What Israel wants enters in no way into our solutions. First of all, our attention is centered on the national will. The Lebanese must be sovereign and free in their own homeland and territory. Lebanon is dealing with this problem on this basis. In general, I don't feel that an appreciation of the Israeli factor ought to enter into the confrontation of the problem. We don't include it in our calculations.

[Question] But there is a struggle, and calculations must be made, and the result of this struggle must be anticipated. Israel is a party to this struggle, and it has strong links with the Lebanese Front. The army which we want to enter the south represents, even with the best intentions, the weakest party in this struggle. Therefore, how can we entrust it with a task like the one you mention?

### **Israel Does Not Enter Into Our Considerations**

[Answer] I repeat: In facing the southern problem we don't want to, and we cannot, take the Israeli factor into consideration.

[Question] But this factor actually exists.

[Answer] There is a point of international law, and international resolutions have been passed, which say that the Lebanese state is sovereign. The upshot is that this is violated by this aggression, and this aggression must be wiped out and the state's sovereignty or symbolic sovereignty over the south must be restored. The tool for this undertaking is the army. It must enter, and when that happens Israel will strike at the Lebanese Army. We leave to the Arab world the question of whether the army enters to fight Israel. If it wants the army to enter into an armed confrontation with Israel, then Lebanon must bear full responsibility. But in the situation as it actually exists, a minimum degree of security is demanded which will ensure the return of the refugees and the prevention of partition and permanent anticipated occupation. The entry of the army will overthrow the Israeli justification with which it excuses the de facto groups in the border zone. If these groups maintain their position, the state will have to take a stand, and a developing stand as well.

[Question] Does the Supreme Shi'i Islamic Council have the means to react to the "established fact" in case it remains as it is?

[Answer] It is difficult to answer such a question because the answer is subject to a number of factors. But surely the "established fact" must be confronted if the state and the United Nations fail.

### **The Resistance's Adjustment to Reality**

[Question] The gist of your demands is the withdrawal of the Palestinian resistance and the partisan militias from the area between the two rivers. In this case, isn't it possible that Israel will support its occupation by Sa'd Haddad's forces, on the pretext of filling the vacuum resulting from the withdrawal of the resistance and the parties?

[Answer] First of all, to call for bringing the army into the south doesn't mean the departure of the Palestinians. We are speaking of the adaptation of Palestinian activity in the south, and the state is not talking about a Palestinian exit from the south. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the resistance agreed to the Tunis summit resolutions and to the clause calling for the cessation of operations via the south or the launching of operations from there. Therefore, our demands do not include the expulsion of the Palestinians from the south. Between modification of Palestinian activity and the entry of the army there is plenty of room for a Palestinian presence, through adaptation to security needs of a national character requiring the establishment of a political framework which would have room for a Palestinian presence along with the return of the authorities to the south.

[Question] What would this framework be like?

[Answer] I don't have a full description--this is for Arab, Palestinian and Lebanese politicians to work out.

#### A Poorly-Timed Step

[Question] In this context, what is your position on the Iranian volunteers who decided to come to the south to fight Zionism and imperialism, in their words?

[Answer] We have announced our stand. We understand very well, and are very grateful for, the spirit of sacrifice of holy war which has brought our brothers in Iran to announce this determination. But the leaders have not sufficiently studied the objective situation in the south, which makes this virtuous, noble step poorly-timed. Frankly, if all the Arab fronts were open, our stand would be different, and if the organizations adopted our own concept of popular war this step would be another matter.

[Question] But isn't it possible that in this region, governed by these organizations whose stand is one of struggle with Israel, there would be a center for the resistance?

[Answer] Never. Nothing prevents the south from being a center for the resistance, but whenever you speak of any center you must be careful about the fundamentals of maintaining and continuing it. If it is exposed to encirclement and defeat, it is not a center, but a trap and a snare. When we speak of the south, it is from a relativistic viewpoint. Speaking absolutely, there is no peace with Israel, and those who speak of peace with Israel are misled. The entire Arab world will be the arena for a holy war until Zionism is eradicated from the minds of the Jews and they agree to coexist with the Arabs and Moslems according to the simplest formulas proposed by the Palestinian resistance.

[Question] Some people want to exploit the discontent in the south to achieve ends contrary to the interests of the southerners. The recent clashes between the Amal movement and the peacekeeping forces demonstrated that clearly.

[Answer] First of all, we must recognize that the demand for the effective return of the authorities and the army was not concocted by the leadership but was in response to the popular will. Opposing this will is impossible, because the people have given everything and have nothing left but bare flesh. I don't know whether anyone is trying to fish in troubled water and exploit this will for devilish ends. But we believe that the way we respond to this popular will will save the south, ensure it a minimum degree of security, and rescue the Palestinian resistance from a major dilemma.

[Question] It is said that Sarkis went to the Tunis summit conference with full Shi'i support. Is there any coordination between you and the president of the republic with respect to the situation in the south?

[Answer] The political plan which the Supreme Shi'i Islamic Council evolved starts with the principle of preserving the south and the Palestinian cause, and sincerely seeking a political framework which will achieve these two strategic goals. As far as the relative circumstances go, "The South First" must not be the slogan of the Lebanese only, but also of the Palestinian resistance. The council's plan will not be realized through consultation or mutual understanding with the state. This is the gist of an objective, moral view of the Arab nation's cause. In the present stage we are adopting the theory of the need to establish the state. In any case, the Lebanese paper presented in Tunis contained a moderate stand on the southern problem. As far as I know, it was formulated after extensive consultation with the resistance itself, but the Tunis summit arrived at resolutions pleasing to all. What amazes me is that today we hear certain ambiguities about the army's entering the south. This arouses our astonishment at the seriousness of the political proposals and resolutions, and leads us to suppose that these conferences are intended to waste time.

[Question] It has been mentioned that you and Amal Movement Private Secretary Husayn al-Husayni were invited to participate in the celebration of the day of world solidarity with the Palestinian people, and that you both refused. You were urged and you refused insistently. Is this true?

[Answer] As for myself, there was a truly unfortunate coincidence. First of all, I had no prior knowledge of the invitation to the celebration, and when I was informed of it indirectly, I had other commitments and was unable to attend, as God is my witness, because I was also ill. In any case, before I learned of it, I hadn't wanted this occasion to pass without participating in it, and I gave a full statement to the press and WAFA on this occasion. Consequently, there was no urgency in the invitation or in the refusal. In fact, I achieved spontaneous and free participation without an invitation from anyone.

[Question] In the face of deteriorating Libyan-Palestinian relations, do you believe that this could possibly affect the situation in the south?

[Answer] The active party in the southern issue is the Palestinian resistance. It must respond to the popular will and deal with reality. Personally, I wouldn't like or allow us to enter into the exploitation of any of the PLO's troubles, for it is carrying the living torch and spirit of holy war in the Arab world.

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MAURITANIA

CUSTOMS DIRECTOR DISCUSSES CUSTOMS STATUTE, PROBLEMS

Nouakchott CHaab in French 15 Jan 80 p 3

[Interview with Capt Mohamed Mahmoud O. Dah, director of Customs, by Kane Sely; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] The rehabilitation of our Customs is not an isolated act. Rather, it is the fruit of the continued determination of the CMSN [Military Committee for National Salvation] and the government to bring about the rehabilitation, both in terms of quality and quantity, of the Mauritanian Civil Service.

It was with this general introduction that Capt Mohamed Mahmoud O. Dah began the important interview he granted us.

[Question] Mr Director, can you draw a general picture of your action during the year that just came to a close?

[Answer] The year that just ended was marked by a sustained effort on the part of the Customs Administration. This effort resulted in improved performance, both in terms of quantity and quality. Customs receipts, which in 1978 amounted to 1,941,476,539 UM [Mauritanian ouguiya], totaled 2,382,690,318 UM in 1979, 3.95 percent more than estimates for the year. One will also note that the increase for the final months of 1979 is 385,043,833 UM, compared with the same period in 1978. These figures illustrate better than words the determination to move constantly forward in making a positive contribution to the effort to build and develop our nation.

One should also point out that budgetary estimates for 1979 were exceeded by 207,905,065 UM and that the action undertaken since August 1979 largely exceeds estimates (121.67 percent more).

You can already imagine the fruit of this work during a rather short period, a period essentially marked by financial difficulties following the war that ruined our country.

[Question] What are the prospects for the New Year?

[Answer] It will be a year of hope, first of all, for Customs, but for the Mauritanian nation as a whole, for the events which we have just experienced give us confidence and consequently, point to a change which is truly the desire and will of all the Mauritanian people.

The New Year therefore provides our administration with the hope of overcoming all its problems and of creating a new spirit in the performance of duty.

We have just witnessed the publication of Customs' own statute, which has already been approved by the Cabinet and whose order making it official was just adopted by the CMSN at its meeting of 4-9 January. This order gives Customs personnel new guarantees concerning their careers. It sets forth the determination of the Committee and the government to give this administration its rights, but also to demand that it perform its duty in a scrupulous fashion. Without a doubt, this statute will create emulation within our administration. The project is the fruit of a long study.

As far as I am personally concerned, I can only thank the government and the CMSN for their willingness to listen to the Customs Administration. I can therefore affirm that our administration will spare no effort in order to live up to the confidence placed in it. I can also say that Customs officials will do their utmost to improve performance and to move forward and prove to the Mauritanian people that they are no longer the corrupt Customs officers of the past, but rather, Customs officers of today, molded by the CMSN and the spirit of the president of the Committee, which is an austere, honest and upright spirit.

These are the characteristics of the Customs officers of today. Customs will follow the path marked out by the CMSN.

[Question] Do you believe that the borders are controlled better now?

[Answer] Watching the borders is an extremely difficult task requiring a large number of personnel and above all, substantial means. This surveillance has always been and is now the constant concern of the Customs Administration, because smuggling and fraud are the nightmare of the Customs officer.

Actually, the double role of Customs, a public agency serving the public, entails a double mission: a mission benefiting the state and a mission benefiting users.

Within the framework of this function, we have the duty of a fiscal administration -- that is, the task of collecting duties and taxes and therefore, of funding the government's budget. At the same time, we must protect honest importers by eliminating all fraudulent imports. Based on these considerations, we have set up stations and squads all along the border. They are equipped with new means in order to carry out their mission.

In our opinion, this action of national interest includes eliminating fraud, which therefore means defending our borders better. But once more, we must admit that it is very difficult, even impossible, to hermetically close the borders, which are vast and permeable. However, the results obtained are very encouraging and confirm our administration's determination to participate actively in the country's rehabilitation. We must also emphasize that a border can only be controlled through the help of the Mauritanian people and the importers anxious to protect their goods because they have monopolies over specific products. It is therefore their task to help Customs in the action it has to carry out.

[Question] Thanks to the privileged place occupied by the Customs Service in the life of the country, you can gain a precise idea of economic activity. How does it look to you at the present time?

[Answer] Economic activity is exclusively the domain of the Ministry of Economy and Finance. Customs is but an administration for the application of this policy. It cannot give you details on the evolution of our country's economy. We are not economists; we are an administration of control and assistance. I believe that we have confidence in the future and we rely on the determination of all Mauritians for a better future, because the construction of the country depends on the effective and positive participation of all citizens, wherever they might be.

[Question] What are the problems now facing Customs?

[Answer] The Customs Administration faces enormous problems inherent in its task, problems of personnel and equipment. Two problems have to do with the austerity policy we now have because there is no more recruiting and the means made available to the different administrations are reduced. Within the framework of this mission, the service is limited in its action by these measures aimed at rehabilitating the entire Mauritanian administration.

Nevertheless, means are one thing and determination is another, and the second factor is the essential thing for me. The Customs Administration has this determination and consequently, will do its utmost to overcome the odds, as they say, in order to contribute to the country's welfare.

11,464  
CSO: 4400

MAURITANIA

BRIEFS

FRENCH FINANCING AGREEMENT--Ahmed Ould Zein, minister of the economy and finance, and Maurice Courage, French ambassador to Mauritania, joined together yesterday in signing an agreement concerning financial assistance to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. According to the agreement, the French Government will provide the Islamic Republic of Mauritania with financial aid in the form of a subsidy totaling 10 million francs, or about 110 million ouguiya (110 million monetary units). The grant will make it possible for the Mauritanian Government to meet certain priority expenditures. It will be completed by a FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund] grant in the amount of 5 million francs, allocated for investment projects. Coming on the heels of the financing agreement signed on 28 September 1978, this latest accord completes the agreement to support the restructuration of Mauritania's financial administration, which, for 1979 and 1980, recruited specialized personnel including three permanent advisers to the minister of finance and, at the request of the Mauritanian Government, expert consultants for specific tasks and the professional training of personnel. With this agreement, the amount of aid which France has granted the Islamic Republic of Mauritania for 1979 will amount to 30 million francs, in the form of subsidies, or about 320 million ouguiya, not including technical assistance expenditures. [Text] [Nouakchott CHAAB in French 16 Jan 80 pp 1, 3] 11,464

CSO: 4400

LEFT OPPOSITION DENOUNCES GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Editorial Attack on Government

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 8-14 Feb 80 p 2

[Text] There is hardly anything that arouses more concern than the way in which those in charge approach the economic and social crisis that is upsetting our country. In fact, every day that passes provides added proof of the government's impotence. It is countering our economic problems with an optimism inappropriate even overseas where the situation has not reached the critical point long since passed by Morocco. Initially, it responded to social demands with an attitude of "let them rot," when this did not occur, it went on to overt hostility toward the workers. After disdaining the strike actions of many production sectors, one now sees a veritable deployment of repression and intimidation. The instigators of the upheaval were of course obvious: the trade unionists and the USFP [Socialist Union of Popular Forces]. Any circumstance is suitable for making an attack on the popular forces which are even denied the right to defend the daily crust of those who are disadvantaged. We have long since observed this ill-humor toward the popular masses. In April of last year the improper dismissal of 2,000 teachers and health officers was already a sufficient sample of the real policy of the government's present make-up. Hence, if the workers, students and peasants are being attacked today, it is nothing other than the expression of patent failure. A failure they intend to cover up, to mask or even to ensure by making the protest movements remain silent. For the most extraordinary aspect of this affair is that every step taken by the government, every stand in the face of these demands implies a deliberate will to provoke tension in the country. Yes! It is an actual provocation in which those in charge are indulging: The questioning of USFP militants, of certain trade union workers and students, the false imprisonment of some of them, the sentences pronounced on others, the visible deployment of forces in front of some establishments whether or not on strike and the mobilizing of the administrative machinery. The objective is manifestly questionable!

Not that it is puzzling. But the internal and surrounding political circumstances can suggest a good many hypotheses. We are not used to speculating on events, so we refuse to go ahead in that domain while not losing sight of

the murky game in which the government is indulging. In any event, there are certainties in this "muddle." The first is that those in charge seem determined to get rid of the country's democratic appearances. As in the good old days, the arbitrary serves as law. There is little concern for legality provided the voices of those who cannot and do not wish to remain silent any longer are stifled. But how can one keep quiet when every new day brings an additional threat to the minimal conditions for subsistence? The limits of what is tolerable have long since been crossed by the economic measures taken by those in charge. Price increases, collective dismissals, inhuman austerity for the disadvantaged have reduced to zero the subsistence margin of Moroccans. An unrestrained regression of our buying power is casting broader and broader social strata into the pit of poverty. Not only is there good reason to be concerned, but also and especially to cry out one's objections to a policy that is antisocial to the utmost degree.

When those in charge respond with intimidation, they forget anyone can be dissuaded except the one who has nothing more to lose! One out of every two Moroccans has already lost what would justify passivity on his part. According to internationally recognized norms, one out of every two Moroccans is in a state of abject poverty. Not only is he badly housed, badly looked after, poorly or not all educated, but is especially in a precarious position where his nutrition is concerned. Famine concealed as much as unemployment is glossed over, the shanty town hidden by a wall, are a Moroccan reality in the 1980's! It is a new fact that will continue to be prominent. Let no one be deceived, famine does not disappear by going after it with a stick. All the more so since our country has everything necessary to ensure its citizens a worthwhile existence. Furthermore, it is this contradiction between the natural economic and human potentials of Morocco and the state of dilapidation to which it has now come that accentuates the crisis. Our country is not naturally destitute, incapable of giving its citizens a minimum of tranquillity with respect to the future. It has the capacities required to alleviate the needs of all Moroccans, those of today and those of the future. What is lacking is political will. The very thing those in charge have for 20 years refused to acquire! We no longer have any need to alert anyone at all as to the dangers of such a lack of will. The policy followed since the 1960's has given rise to the grave situation in which the country is struggling. The tentacular crisis recognized by all is enough to remind each and every one of his duties.

We will not repeat our appeal. The one we have never stopped addressing to those holding the reins of power. At the time of our Third National Congress, we again rang the alarm with the sole hope that those in charge would make an effort to limit the damage caused a Morocco the foundations of whose economy have been undermined as well as those of its society. An economic crisis, social depravity, an administration in disorder, those are the terms for the problems the government must resolve. This demonstrates that the show of force misses the main point. It also demonstrates that a collective effort is what is needed to palliate the ills of Morocco in 1980. Finally, it shows that the country needs a government that faces up to difficulties, one that

**does not avoid them. Any stand that does not take into account the acuteness of our problems upon which our country is stumbling will only lead to evasive action. This time, however, the solution to these problems depends not only on will but also on political courage.**

#### Criticism of Government's Attitude

**Casablanca LIBERATION in French 8-14 Feb 80 p 3**

**[Article by Mohamed Azzayani: "Egalitarianism" in Repression]**

**[Text] The events the university is experiencing have led to reflection for two reasons, one cyclical, the other constant.**

**Strikes and arrests seem once again to mark university life while higher education is coming closer and closer to an impasse. But instead of grappling with this sector, one vital to the country's development, they want to deal only with the outward manifestations of the ill. And in what a way! The university's history is full of these absurd combinations of circumstances that cause arrests to follow upon strikes and solidarity strikes to follow upon arrests. In the past, the overwhelming majority of those "in charge" of national education were not professionals; but what can one say today when two university professors are at the "command posts" of national education and of higher education. The taking of legal action against nonconformists is at its height, it has even taken unusual forms. The interrogating of students is now done in a collective way; and it is the director of an establishment for the training of technical cadres who brought the students together at a general assembly... to facilitate their being interrogated. All students are thus becoming suspects. Henceforth, no distinction is made between the active elements and the common pool of the student masses. As a result, the places for intellectual work and reflection are becoming collective halls for public interrogations.**

**The inviolability of university premises under the banner of egalitarianism has turned into an abuse of the conscience, of the elementary rights of the human individual. But during the most difficult moments of the university's history such methods were not used.**

**What has happened for so many arrests to occur in several towns? When one looks hard, one notes that in accordance with the adage "legnaza hamia, walmiete far" [much ado about nothing], that is, any mobilization under way against the students is motivated by futile reasons, i.e., by the strikes, things that are nevertheless common in any university establishment throughout the world.**

**The fact is that this edginess with respect to the manifestations of young people's natural vitality and of their reactions to the problems with which they are struggling, and also in the face of their concern and distress over their own future, not only the obstacle of examinations but of jobs that are**

becoming scarce and the absence of prospects, is explained in another way. The truth is that democracy, at bottom, is nothing but a facade to the government. It prefers the figurehead association of well-behaved and amorphous students of the UGEM [General Union of Moroccan Students] type to the active, living union, a crucible for training youth, one of responsibility and courage, which the UNEM [National Union of Moroccan Students] has always been for students and which it will always be. Similarly, it is delighted with the scant information given by the official and choleric mass media in contrast to the free press which believes in debate, in contradiction, in the need for responsible dialogue. Yet only a democratic confrontation of ideas, of opinions and convictions can set aside irresponsibility and reduce to their real size the opinions or convictions that are disturbing.

To the dialectics of democracy the government seems to prefer, or rather to believe solely in one virtue: that of silence. As soon as energy makes itself manifest and vitality is expressed, it pulls out its big stick so that everything will return to inertia. Look at its reactions to the social protests, to the economic crisis, to the high cost of living, etc.... One may even wonder whether the government has in mind only the will to maintain the order of stagnation regardless of the cost.

#### CDT Support to Dismissed Workers

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 8-14 Feb 80 p 4

[Text] Within the framework of commitment to the path of militancy and in response to the call issued by the CDT [Democratic Labor Confederation] making 3 February a national day of solidarity with the workers who were dismissed, the working class once again experienced a historic day that will remain a milestone in the struggle waged by the workers against the exploiters and their allies.

Thus at Kenitra, Tangier, Nador, Oujda, Taza, Meknes, Marrakech, Safi, Beni Mellal, Agadir, El Jadida, Rabat, Casablanca..., everywhere, the workers of various sectors met on the CDT's premises in an atmosphere of solidarity and faith in the coming victory to express their attachment to the principles of worker solidarity.

The line laid down by the CDT with respect to its basic options on the road of its struggle has been reinforced as to its correctness and strictness by the workers' actions directed at ending exploitation and alienation.

In Casablanca where the working class has made plain its determination to go on with its struggle, the executive committee spoke to emphasize the significance of such an event. "This day, like that of 26 January when we rallied to the phosphate workers, will remain the day that gave trade unionism its real meaning, for the existence of a union has no meaning without carrying solidarity into practice and any trade union organization loses its reason for being if it does not make this carrying into practice a sacred principle."

And in reply to those who are still debating the strike principle, it recalled that "the strike is a sacred right which the working class extracted by its struggle during the period of colonialism. The problem is not that of the strike; the actual problem is the reality of the exploitation that the working class is undergoing. And the key question under such conditions is: "Where is the country heading now...?" With respect to the workers who were dismissed, the executive committee wondered: "Who are those militants dismissed from their jobs? They are teachers whose experience ranges from 5 to 20 years, professors, graduates of higher institutes or pedagogical centers, qualified workers. Those workers prefer dismissal to the inhuman conditions under which they work. Instead of beginning a responsible dialogue, the government has resorted to repression and has thus exposed its true nature."

The conditions of our workers abroad were furthermore the subject of the executive committee's address: "Our workers abroad who number 500,000 are toiling at small work sites, in forestry, agriculture, construction, in mines, all those sectors where one rarely finds Europeans. Considered merchandise, they are daily confronted with exploitation, a wretched existence, with the illegal actions of the French administration and are often expelled by the hundreds, but our government is busy repressing the masses and progressive organizations. We affirm that we insist on our demands. We remain eternally determined to defend them for we are certain we will win: Our will is derived from the people's will..."

The various sectors that participated in that demonstration spoke to declare their support for the victims of repression and their determination to continue the struggle until freedom from every form of exploitation has been achieved.

Telegrams of solidarity with the dismissed workers and of protest against the repressive measures taken against them within the country or abroad were sent to the:

Moroccan prime minister,

Moroccan minister of labor,

President of the French Government,

President of the French National Assembly.

#### USFP Demands Meeting on Repression

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 8-14 Feb 80 p 4

[Text] A run of arrests in student circles and among the ranks of the USFP, the taking of legal action and questioning of USFP and CDT militants. Violation of the university's integrity. The closing down of certain higher

establishments (ISCAE [Higher Institute for Commerce and Contract Management], etc...). Legal proceedings, etc...

In unleashing this wave of repression, the government, unable to resolve the crisis, is heightening the tension after having provoked it. Every day new reports on arrests, questioning and the taking of legal action.

On Saturday, 26 January, the daily AL-MUHARRIR was obliged to submit to censorship. It was allowed to appear only after it had been read by the officials in charge. Its premises were besieged. On Sunday, Ahmed Bendjelloun, a member of the USFP's administrative committee, was arrested. He spent 2 days on police premises. After his release he was again questioned and interrogated.

Other members of the administrative committee have been arrested: Azzouz El Jariri of Taza, Mounir Omar of Beni Mellal. The latter is still in the hands of the police. Several students, UNEM leaders and militants have also been arrested. Mustapha Alaoui, Hassan Soussi, Ben Attabou Benaissa, a member of the executive committee, and Abdellah Touzani, a member of UNEM's administrative council and a member of the USFP regional secretariat, were arrested in Casablanca. Legal proceedings were initiated: Ten students appeared before the court on Wednesday 5 February, in Rabat. Their trial was postponed. Three students are to be tried on Saturday, 9 February, in Casablanca. Two in Fes. Several others are still in the hands of the police. Comrade Naciri, a member of the regional secretariat of Beni Mellal, and Azilal and his wife have been questioned and interrogated. Barakat El Yazid of Casablanca and Fejri El Hachmi of Rabat have also been arrested.

The CDT was prevented from organizing in Rabat on 26 January a solidarity meeting with the phosphate workers who are waging their protest struggle. Its Rabat premises were raided. In the face of this wave of repression, the USFP has undertaken several steps with the authorities. Following the arrest of Ahmed Bendjelloun, Mohamed El Yazghi, a member of the USFP political bureau, and Brahim Boutaleb, a USFP deputy for Fes, contacted the president of the Chamber of Representatives and the minister of interior.

This week again Abdelouahed Radi, president of the USFP parliamentary group (Ittihadia [USFP] Opposition), and Mohamed Bensaid, USFP deputy, protested to the minister of interior against the wave of arrests and interrogations of which several USFP and UNEM militants have been the victims. Ahmed Machich, USFP deputy from Tadia, and Mohamed Yassine, president of the Beni Mellal municipal council, made contact with the authorities concerning Mounir Omar's arrest. In addition, Ahmed Machich asked the president of the Chamber of Representatives for an emergency meeting of the Interior Committee and local collectivities to look into the wave of repression now under way which is striking a blow at the basic freedoms of citizens.

The National Ittihadia Youth Bureau published a communique in which it denounced this wave of repression and declared that the solution to the

problems lies in freeing the political and trade union detainees, respecting freedom of speech, of assembly, of demonstrating, of membership in political and trade union organizations, in building a genuine social justice founded on satisfying the demands of the working class and returning those dismissed to their jobs. It reaffirmed its unconditional solidarity with all militants who have been victims of repression.

In addition, for their part, the USFP regional secretariats of the southern provinces, of Beni Mellal, of Casablanca, disseminated communiquees in which they denounced the wave of repression and expressed their solidarity with the victims of repression.

As for the UNEM, it called for a general student strike on 6 and 7 February 1980. The strike was massively supported. In the communique it published before the strike, UNEM declared that this wave of repression was directed at destabilizing the UNEM. It was organized to prevent the student organizations from pursuing its restructuring and its struggle to satisfy the students' material and moral demands.

It was also directed at striking a blow at what the student movement has achieved: The generalizing of scholarships, the right of all students holding a baccalaureate to register at the faculties. Respect for the inviolability of the university.

UNEM demanded in addition the release of all political detainees and cessation of the taking of legal action and interrogations of which the students are victims.

UNEM is also to hold a press conference in Rabat this Thursday, 7 February, to shed full light on the events of which the university sector is aware.

#### Stop Press News

We have learned that the UNEM leaders arrested in Casablanca have been released. They are Mustapha Alaoui, Hassan Soussi, Ben Atabou, Benaissa, Abdellah Touzani.

#### Student, Labor Grievances

Casablanca LIBERATION in French 8-14 Feb 80 p 5

[Text] UNEM's executive committee held a press conference on Thursday, 7 February, in Rabat. It set forth the situation which the university sector and the student movement are experiencing. It distributed a statement to the newsmen. In view of its importance we publish it in full.

[If the UNEM executive committee] was anxious to invite you to this press conference, it was because it considered that the gravity of the situation

inside the Moroccan university has reached an alarming point. And this has happened because of the broad scale aggression being committed at the present time against the Moroccan student movement and its glorious organization, UNEM, which under the dramatic conditions that the opening of this university year has seen, have given proof of political maturity and a high sense of responsibility.

The general situation in Morocco is characterized by the increasingly serious structural crisis, the objective consequence of the antipopular and antidemocratic choices. Our economy's dependence, a focal point of imperialist decisions, has been intensified as a result. The buying power of the popular masses, of poor peasants, of students, is increasingly reduced because of the freeze on wages and income and the vertiginous price increases.

In the face of this worsening situation, the popular masses have expressed their strong will to defend their legitimate interests and have undertaken a series of struggles involving all sectors of active life. This was why the peasants of Beni Mellal and Asilla rose up against the arbitrary expropriation actions of the large landowners and why the workers have undertaken many struggles in the phosphate, tobacco, energy, bakeries, sparkling drinks and transportation, etc., sectors...

Confronted with this popular struggle, the government apparatus has reacted by violating public freedoms, by resorting to various repressive means such as aggression against the workers at their work sites, surrounding the premises of the trade union organizations, dismissal of a large number of trade union militants, the arrest of leaders of certain progressive organizations. And this was why the universities were attacked and many students taken from their residence halls and subjected to formal legal proceedings.

This wave of repression directed against the various popular strata that has been characterized within the student movement by a major offensive against the students, and from UNEM's standpoint this wave can only be understood if placed within the context of the student movement's evolution since the holding of the 16th National Congress that was the starting point for resumption of the movement's combativity after 6 years of being arbitrarily banned. In fact, the student masses were mobilized with great firmness and responsibility under the leadership of the executive committee to meet the great difficulties of Moroccan university life that have only become accentuated because of the antipopular policy followed in the educational sphere, a policy that has been characterized this year by the limitation imposed on access to the university, the imposing of a competitive system, the exclusion of hundreds of students and an increased percentage of losses.

The leadership has assumed all of its responsibilities and has faced up to these problems energetically.

The student masses have thus been mobilized in the light of UNEM's progressive orientation for basic demands and it is in that framework that UNEM's executive committee decided to make 24 January a national day of struggle for the release of all political and trade union detainees and the return of those exiled and respect for public freedoms. It decided on a 24-hour strike on Saturday, 26 January, in line with the call from the PLO's executive committee, as a way to condemn the normalizing of relations between the Sadat regime and the Zionist enemy. The student mobilization was massive and led to the success of all these national strikes and meetings the leadership held on 24 January in which thousands of students participated.

This combative orientation of our organization and its legitimate trade union and democratic struggles gave proof of the students' attachment to their organization and of their rallying around their leadership.

The reaction, in view of its inability to resolve the problems of higher education and its refusal to meet the legitimate demands of the students and of the popular masses, has stepped up its repression against our organization. This repression has been characterized by:

The interrogating of the executive committee and the false imprisonment on several occasions, most recently that of a few executive committee members who had just presided over a general meeting of the Casablanca Faculty of Law.

The kidnapping of several students in Fes, Rabat and Casablanca from inside the university residence halls and institutions.

The violating of university premises and doing so by police occupation of certain university establishments (occupation of the Mohamed Ben Abdellah University in Fes) during daytime hours on Friday, 1 February 198

The violation of some premises of UNEM's basic organs and raids on them (EMI [Mohammedia School of Engineering]).

The closing of a few university institutions (ISCAE [Higher Institute for Commerce and Contract Management], IHTP [expansion unknown]) [in Casablanca].

The closing of some university restaurants (Casa-Rabat Souissi).

The ban on holding UNEM meetings and general assemblies in the auditoriums (Rabat Faculty of Sciences, Rabat and Casablanca Faculties of Law).

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We wish to draw your attention at this specific time when this wave occurring just after the first phase of the struggle to satisfy the most urgent demands (reintegration of those excluded, reopening of registration, imposition of the equivalence principle) and at the time when the student movement was beginning its restructuring with a view to more extensive trade union and democratic

struggles. The launching of these repressive measures reveals the reactionary goals intended to block the successful functioning of our militant organization, an integral part of the progressive and democratic movement.

This wave of repression, once placed in its national and international context, can only serve the interests and expansionist aims of those hostile to our territorial integrity and to our national development.

UNEM's executive committee, desirous of informing you of everything that concerns student opinion, reaffirms its will to remain faithful to the progressive orientation of our 16th National Congress, deploying all of its efforts to complete its restructuring for the purpose of attaining the following goals:

Satisfaction of our moral and material demands and the building of an Arabized democratic scientific and generalized education.

Preservation of the attainments extracted by major struggles, in particular the generalizing of scholarships and the inviolability of university premises.

The immediate release of all detained students and cessation of all provocative campaigns and formal prosecution of UNEM militants and leaders.

The release of all political and trade union detainees and the return of those now exiled to the motherland.

The institution of genuine democracy and expansion of the scope of public freedoms.

It reaffirms:

Its unconditional commitment at the side of the popular masses and of their avant-garde, the working class, in their legitimate struggle to have all repressive measures come to an end.

Its unconditional support for the Palestinian revolution under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

Its support for all national liberation movements in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction.

By way of conclusion, we address an urgent appeal to all the progressive and democratic national and international forces to become strongly mobilized at UNEM's side in solidary action, supporting its legitimate struggles and condemning all repressive illegal actions perpetrated against the Moroccan student movement.

STRIKING STUDENTS WILL LOSE SCHOLARSHIPS

Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Feb 80 p 4

[Text] Rabat (AFP)--It was reported in Rabat on Tuesday 19 February that the Moroccan Government has decided to suspend scholarships to any student who henceforth participates in strikes from classes. This follows covert activities in the past few weeks organized by the National Union of Moroccan Students (UNEM, Progressist) with primarily political demands. Official sources confirm that "the right to strike is and remains guaranteed by law." However, they explain, the government does not intend to continue granting awards to a "handful of subversives" who constantly make trouble in educational establishments and prevent their comrades from normally continuing their studies. Some 88,000 Moroccan students now receive scholarships.

Meanwhile, a number of student members of the clandestine Marxist-Leninist movement, have been sentenced during the past few days, particularly in Rabat and Casablanca, to detention terms of up to 5 years for "subversive activities and distribution of pamphlets which could disturb public order." Opposition papers, particularly those of the USFP and the Party of Progress and Socialism (communist), which usually pay a lot of attention to violations of human rights, have remained silent about these trials, the students involved having since 1973 defended the Saharan people's rights to self-determination.

CSO: 4400

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT ENCOUNTERS NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES

Obstacles To Agricultural Progress

Aden 14 OCTOBER in Arabic 21 Dec 79 p 3

[Article One in Series by 'Umar Ba Wazir on Agricultural Sector: First Secretary of Standards Bureau of Ministry of Agriculture Defines Problems Facing Ministry and Outlines Several Ways to Overcome Them]

[Text] Comrade 'Abd-al-Fatah Isma'il, the secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and chairman of the Presidium, the Supreme People's Council, identified numerous negative phenomena that have appeared recently in numerous organizations and facilities. He identified these phenomena in the speech that he delivered on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Yemeni Socialist Party and the 16th anniversary of the glorious 14 October Revolution. It is the opinion of the Central Committee that constraint about these negative phenomena will cause considerable harm to the national economy and to material production. The phenomena of indolence at work, the decline of production standards, administrative corruption, bribery and abuse of state funds, and the lack of maintenance and protection of the state's machines have cost us millions of dinars. Our party cannot accept the continued use of fraud to violate laws, or smuggling and dealing in the black market, because such matters contradict its principles and the revolutionary values which it introduced. These matters are inconsistent with the interests of the workers and the toilers. Revolutionary honor as well as loyalty to the goals of the revolution require us all to struggle relentlessly against these phenomena and to take a firm and a stern stand against those elements that turn their back to the new values of the revolution and to exchange them for values of corruption, sabotage and the waste of people's funds.

Another negative factor emerges in the areas of agricultural and industrial production and domestic marketing. This negative factor manifests itself in the fact that the citizens' need for fruits, vegetables, fish and other consumer materials are not being met. In spite of the fact that the state had allocated 81 million dinars for agricultural investments and 23.8 million dinars for investments in fish resources during the years of the second 5-Year

plan, some cooperatives and state farms are still not offering in the local market the (quantity of) products that would meet the needs of the population. Although we expected these organizations which are important to our agricultural and industrial economy to realize profits, we do find them suffering from financial deficits and from debts that they owe to other state organizations.

Comrade 'Abd-al-Fatah Isma'il emphasized in his important speech that "The development of our citizens' standard of living and wage increases for our citizens cannot be achieved unless the national economy is developed, production is increased; checks, controls and accountability in business are tightened; and indolence, idleness, administrative corruption and bribery are resisted."

The speech advocated that all efforts be turned towards work so that production can be increased and the projects of the plan can be implemented on schedule.

The statement that was issued by the comrade, the secretary general, about the Sixth Session of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party also included facing up to the economic and financial conditions; making numerous decisions; taking measures regarding the development of new economic forms, especially in the government sector and in the cooperative sector; and strengthening the roles of these sectors in the economic life of the country.

The opinions and the observations that were made by the members of the Central Committee in this regard were forceful. The remedies and the resolutions that came out of the committee's session were likewise forceful. In addition, there were detailed proposals and practical measures on elementary and fundamental principles. These manifested themselves in a commitment to carefully considered plans and to the qualitative and quantitative increase of production. All workers, and chiefly the members of the party and those who are candidates for membership, are to endow themselves with a sound work posture and with stern work discipline. They are to give maximum care on a regular basis to the preservation and maintenance of tools, machines and equipment; to the reduction of expenditures; and to the avoidance of waste and superfluous expenditures that may be dispensed with.

This was the position of the party and of the state on the economic problem and on remedying it. This position was expressed in the speech that was made by comrade, the secretary general. It was also expressed in the recent statement of the Central Committee and in what we had published in a previous issue regarding the indicators of the development plan. This article will deal with what does in fact exist on the practical scene.

## We Will Begin with the Agricultural Problem

### The Conditions of Agriculture

#### 4,655,419 Dinars Instead of 18,405,663 Dinars

Comrade 'Abd-al-Wali Muhammad, first secretary of the Standards Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform says that 18,405,663 dinars were appropriated for the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform for the first year of the second 5-Year Plan, but that what was actually spent from January until June of that year was 4,655,419 dinars. That is only 25 percent. He attributed this situation to the lack of outside financial resources which had been approved in the appropriations for the first year of the plan, especially in the areas of irrigation and veterinary medicine. The local bank loan for the Poultry Organization and for the Public Organization for Marketing Vegetables and Fruits was also delayed. In addition, there was a delay of approximately 2 months after the beginning of the plan in earmarking the appropriations at the Ministry of Planning.

### Reasons for the Decline of Agricultural Production

During our tour of all the divisions and the departments of the ministry we did not get any statistics that evaluated the agricultural season which was part of the plan for the first year of the [5-Year] Plan. This is because the ministry has not yet received these evaluations which it should have received before the new season began last month. These evaluations would have enabled the ministry to identify the negative and the positive factors of the season. The first secretary of the Standards Bureau attributes the decline of agricultural production to a number of reasons. The following are the most prominent ones:

[1] The agricultural plan is centrally prepared by the ministry, and it is superficially discussed in the governorates. The plan does not consider separately the actual [circumstances] of any farm or cooperative.

[2] The indicators that were set by the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform in the second 5-Year Plan are high and unrealistic. This has led the ministry to force the farms and cooperatives to accept those indicators. When it is time for implementation, the result is negative and we experienced a decline in agricultural production.

[3] The fact that every agricultural season is not evaluated and the fact that every crop is not evaluated have denied the plan a proper implementation process. In addition, there is no accountability, and this made matters lax and allowed any farm or cooperative to plant what it wanted to plant without adhering to the plan.

[4] In this regard we can cite a true example of what we are saying. There are bilateral agreements between the Public Organization for Marketing

Vegetables and Fruits and the agricultural production organizations. These agreements are not being implemented because there is no legal device to compel the organizations to abide by these agreements. Neither one of the two parties to an agreement is held accountable, and this has turned the agreements to mere ink on paper.

[5] There are no standards or measurements for productive work on farms to determine the nature of the work that every worker carries out. For example, the worker who harvests so many tons [of a particular crop] is to receive such a reward and so on.

[6] Machinery is not fully utilized, and it is also not maintained or protected. Therefore, the machines are deteriorating constantly, and many farms and cooperatives are asking for new machines.

No one who puts a car or a tractor out of commission is held accountable. Instead of holding such people accountable, demands are made of the new generation.

More than 8 years have elapsed since some state farms were established. Their conditions have not yet been evaluated even though the state offers them an annual subsidy. Examples of such farms are the Socotra Farm in the First Governorate; the Wadi Taban Farm in the Second Governorate; the al-Mahfad, al-Tariyyah and Ahwar farms in the Fourth Governorate; the Marakhah and 'Usaylan farms in the Fourth Governorate; and the al-Rudud and Baqtam farms in the Fifth Governorate.

The same is true regarding the cooperatives which are responsible for the production of approximately 75 percent of the annual production of the agricultural plans. Because of the fact that their conditions have not been evaluated and their forms not determined, the cooperatives have deteriorated. This is due to several factors. [The following] are among them:

[1] The peasants have left the cooperatives and are no longer tied to the land because of the absence of standards and measurements that pertain to cooperative activity and also because the cooperative movement has not been evaluated and the resolutions of cooperative conferences and debates have not been advantageously utilized.

[2] Correct scientific methods were not adopted in determining the fixed price of goods [in proportion] to the cost of production.

[3] The leadership role that the ministry must play in the centralized supervision of its branches in the governorates and of the organizations and facilities that are affiliated with it has been inadequate. For example, there is no qualified technical staff that can evaluate the conditions of these organizations and criticize the experiment boldly. For example, the Central Planning and Statistics Administration and its branches in the governorates were not able to evaluate the annual agricultural plans

that should have been evaluated every season so that the shortcomings and errors would have been recognized and avoided in the other seasons. The same is also true for the Agricultural Production Administration; it does not have the technical staff that can keep up with the implementation of plans and programs.

#### The Staff of the Ministry

About the local and the foreign staff of the ministry and the extent of their utilization, Comrade 'Abd-al-Wali told us that the matter of the staff of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform was considered a problem since there was no clear plan in the ministry to utilize local staff in the field of production directly. There is also no plan to train them for the future because the ministry does not know the number of the staff people it will get every year. For example, every graduate is appointed automatically at the Research Center after he completes his education in spite of the fact that the governorates, the organizations and the production projects need him, not to mention the lack of local training and qualifying programs for mid-level staff in the institutions that are affiliated with the ministry.

All the special courses for the mid-level staff take place [as a result] of the efforts of the institutions themselves and according to their capabilities. There is no plan that requires those institutions to have training courses. These courses often do not make it because of the lack of trainees in the governorates. Only 50 percent of those who are supposed to attend the courses do, and some courses are cancelled because there are no trainees, such as the bookkeeping courses in the state's farms and cooperatives.

Most of the expertise of friendly, fraternal and international organizations is not fully utilized. An expert would come and stay for more than 2 years, and no clear program would be explained to him so that all his expertise could be utilized. In addition, most of their proposals and studies are not taken into consideration.

#### Management and the Position on Work

The comrade, the first secretary of the Standards Bureau says, "There is general laxity in the management of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform just as there is in the other facilities. This is due to poor planning. There is hidden unemployment in many sections of the ministry. There are approximately 260 employees in the main office of the ministry, and 25 percent of them are experiencing hidden unemployment, not to mention [those] in the other organizations and departments that are affiliated with the ministry. Regarding [management's] posture on work, there is general laxity throughout the ministry and its different branches. It may be said that work hours are not utilized as they should be and that the means of production are not utilized as they should be. Nevertheless, those who upset

the system of work are not held accountable, and those who sabotage the tools of production are not punished."

#### The Financial Condition

As far as the financial condition is concerned, the ministry and its producing organizations do not have a uniform accounting system. Some of them use the government system; some of them use the commercial system; or some use the banking system. This has led to a lack of knowledge about many of the financial aspects in the matter of production and production quantities, costs, returns and the evaluation of this or that facility as far as profit or loss are concerned.

#### The Distribution of Manpower

Comrade 'Abd-al-Wali goes on to say, "Some of the ministry's production organizations are suffering from a manpower shortage, especially in production, after many farm workers and cooperative peasants left [farm labor] to go into the service and construction sectors as well as the private sector because of the meager wages of the agricultural worker in the (previous) period. This situation is now applicable to the agricultural field, and it may be applicable in the future if work standards or measurements are not drawn up and tied to the quantity of production and to the effort that the worker spends in each agricultural process, that is, tying the wages of the worker with the quantity of his production."

#### Marketing

On the problem of marketing agricultural products domestically, Comrade 'Abd-al-Wali said, "If we cited the recent resolutions of the Political Bureau regarding marketing agricultural products inside the country, we would find that they have not yet been properly implemented.

"This is due to the condition which the Public Organization for Marketing Vegetables and Fruits is experiencing. It is also due to the administrative conditions of the state's farms and cooperatives. These conditions have been reflected on domestic marketing."

#### What Are the Solutions to These Questions?

The comrade, the first secretary of the Standards Bureau at the ministry is drawing up numerous solutions to these questions which we have presented. He summarizes them as follows:

- [1] Agricultural programs and plans are to be drawn up in accordance with the actual circumstances of each facility. These plans and programs must be tied to specific requirements, and they must also be characterized by a material and a moral incentive in the different organizations of production (competitive socialism).

[2] The existence of standards and measurements for all agricultural operations is necessary, and so is tying labor to production.

[3] Machinery should be utilized in the best possible way for economic feasibility. There must be standards so that the capacity of this or the other machine can be utilized advantageously. Those who destroy public property must be held strictly accountable, and the working wage of the machine must be tied to production.

[4] A serious examination is to be made of the conditions of state farms, and practical and proper solutions are to be drawn up so that these farms can be pulled out of these conditions which they have been experiencing in management, in technology and in accounting. A uniform accounting system must be established, and it should actually be tied to the different processes of production.

[5] An effort is to be made to make a specific practical study of the cost of production according to the kind and the quality of the product. A fixed price must be set for all agricultural crops in the light of actual costs.

[6] An effort is to be made to set up a central agency and to draw up clear plans and programs so as to provide the requirements of production as well as the agricultural machines, the spare parts, the fertilizers, the pesticides and other production requirements that are imported.

[7] The principle of accountability must be put into practice. This must be tied to a seasonal inquiry into agricultural plans and programs to determine shortcomings and negative factors and to develop the positive factors gradually. Attention must be paid to the statistical aspect in the different branches of production in the governorates.

[8] The conditions of the cooperative movement are to be evaluated, its forms are to be determined, and its method is to be developed. [The effort] to establish model cooperatives is to be intensified in every governorate so that these model cooperatives can become ideal examples for cooperative action. (There would be a first kind, a second, and a third).

[9] A plan to train staff inside the country and abroad is to be established, and an effort is to be made to distribute this staff in the governorates and also to make use of foreign experts. We are to take their opinions and proposals into consideration, and we are to draw up practical programs to utilize them in training local staff. We must also have a local counterpart for every foreign expert or adviser.

[10] We must take a serious stand on the phenomenon of general laxity, and we must make an effort to implement the central ordinances, the rules, and the resolutions in that regard. We must also draw up plans of action for every

division and organization, and these programs must be put under constant observation. An effort must also be made to re-organize and to redistribute manpower in the proper fashion.

[ii] The guidance, supervisory and technical roles of the ministry's divisions, organizations and branches are to be strengthened. The ministry's divisions, organizations and branches are to be supplied with trained professional staff that can evaluate the conditions of these organizations continuously and can draw up practical solutions for them. The infrastructure organizations of the Yemeni Socialist Party must also play a leadership role in carrying out the directives of the party and of the state. Their opinions are to be adopted so that the leadership role of the party can be strengthened.

#### Practical Measures to Correct Mistakes

The comrade, the first secretary of the Standards Bureau at the ministry concluded his speech by saying, "Hurried steps are being taken and practical measures are being pursued at present by the leadership of the ministry and by its party organization, especially after Comrade Fadl Muhsin "Abdallah, member of the Central Committee, assumed the duties of the ministry so as to pull it out of this condition and to make a general evaluation of its administrative financial production conditions.

Firm measures have been adopted in this regard to check those who upset the work system, to hold them accountable and to curb those who destroy public property. A decision has also been made regarding the fair distribution of the staff to all the agricultural divisions, projects and facilities that are affiliated with the ministry.

We are very hopeful that whenever all parties augment their efforts, we will in fact be capable of realizing major accomplishments that would have [the cause of] increasing production and upgrading work efficiency.

#### Reasons for Decline in Production

Aden 14 OCTOBER in Arabic 28 Dec 79 p 3

[Article Two in Series by 'Umar Ba Wazir on Agricultural Sector: What Are Reasons for Decline of Agricultural Production? ]

[Text] Our objective is to discover and define areas of error, and ultimately arrive at practical solutions that would help us move from this prevalent condition to the condition we must attain, as defined by the documents of the party and the government program under the second 5-Year Plan. Accordingly, we expanded our investigation to pursue the causes and the problems that led to this condition. We approached the agencies referred to in our previous article in this regard. We also sought the comrade, the Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform to get his opinion of this problem and the solutions

contemplated by the Ministry in the light of the speech made by the comrade, the secretary general [of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party] and the chairman of the Presidium, the Supreme People's Council, and in the light of the statement of the Sixth Session of the Central Committee.

#### The Public Organization for Marketing Vegetables and Fruits

What are the reasons for the shortages in vegetables and fruits, and why are citizens' needs for these products not being met?

[Our] brother, the general manager of the organization attributes this shortage to the fact that the cooperatives and the state farms did not fulfill the agreements that had been made between them and the organization. This did impede the marketing process and the process of meeting citizens' requirements. This [failure to fulfill agreements] did finally force the organization to import quantities of onions and garlic from abroad which should have been obtained from the Fourth and Fifth governorates.

We examined all the agreements which the organization had concluded with the cooperatives and with the state farms from December 1978 to September 1979. We indicate them in the following table:

#### Quantities Received from Cooperatives and State Farms in Accordance with the Agreement for the Period from December 1978 to September 1979

The Governorates	Vegetables As Delivered		Fruits As Per Delivered		Quantity in Tons
	Per Agreement	Delivered	Agreement	Delivered	
Second	1,522,104	317,509	2,429,970	541,529	
Third	2,722,043	850,455	1,810,717	343,746	
Fourth	334,125	57,760			

  

Governorates	Vegetables As Delivered		Fruits As Per Delivered		Quantity in Tons
	Per Agreement	Delivered	Agreement	Delivered	
Second	4,184,929	1,334,417	3,514,546	416,649	
Third	1,283,226	9,987,651	5,466,623	1,131,840	
Fourth	1,666,550	488,548			

Notes:

As far as the Fourth Governorate is concerned, it produces onions and potatoes only. There is also a special program for potatoes that is not tied to any agreement. The organization is obliged to take any quantities of potatoes that it receives.

The Fifth Governorate is not included in the table because the organization has an independent branch [there].

The Cooperative Administration

The Cooperative Administration has a production plan for the cooperatives in the governorates for the year 1978-1979. We examined this plan, but we cannot print it because the seasonal and annual evaluation statistics are not available. These statistics would have enabled us to recognize what has and what has not been achieved of the plan. The Cooperative Administration is saying that it is still waiting for the evaluation committees that had begun preparing these evaluations.

Brother 'Uthman Hamid, the technical and production affairs official at the Cooperative Administration admits that the production of cooperatives is declining because fixed prices are low and because the means of production are not available at the specified times.

The relationship of the cooperatives to the Public Organization for Marketing Vegetables and Fruits is also tarnished by some shortcomings. Some cooperatives farmers in the Fourth Governorate (Bayhan) are complaining that the organization did not take delivery of the onions that were produced this season under the pretext that the organization did not have the means of transporting the onions. This was 3 months ago. This complaint was confirmed by the brother, the director of the Cooperative Administration, after this complaint was brought to his attention. He said that he had personally cabled the organization from Bayhan about this matter. The cooperative farmers of Bayhan have also not yet received compensation for the crop they produced and delivered to the organization last May. The director of the marketing organization denied this statement.

Among the reasons which the technical and production affairs official at the Cooperative Administration attributed to the decline of the cooperatives is what he called a general shortage in the spare parts of machines at the Domestic Trade Company. The stations that are leasing machines in the governorates are also not meeting the needs of the governorates because there are no spare parts for the machines. And even if they met the needs, they do not do so in the desired manner.

In addition, the staff of the cooperatives is deficient, and there is a lack of agricultural guidance.

What are the solutions that you think would enable us to overcome this problem?

The technical and production affairs official in the Cooperative Administration is saying that there is a number of questions that must be considered as solutions to this condition which the cooperatives are experiencing. These are exemplified in the following:

- [1] The Farmers' Association must stimulate political and cultural activities amidst cooperative farmers.
- [2] Agricultural guidance must be intensified amidst cooperatives farmers.
- [3] Production requirements must be provided at the appropriate time and in the required amount.
- [4] Cooperatives are to be encouraged to acquire the means of production [such as] tillers and tractors.
- [5] An appropriate fixed price is to be set for every crop in accordance with the cost of production.
- [6] The staffs of cooperatives are to be retained, and cooperatives are not to be turned into other facilities.

#### The Production Administration and State Farms

Just as we had a tour at the Cooperative Administration, we also had another tour at the Agricultural Production Administration, and we met with its general manager. We asked him about the reason why state farms were not obliged to meet [the goals] of their agricultural plans. He replied that the state farms were not obliged to implement 100 percent of their plans, and that the implementation ratio varied from one farm to another. This was due to an occasional shortage of water, which is considered essential in agriculture, and it was also due to a shortage of labor and spare parts. The quality of the soil also varied from one area to another, and this had a major effect on the quantity of production.

During the investigation we tried to obtain a copy of last season's plan and accomplishments, but, unfortunately, we were not able to do so; nor were we able to obtain the evaluations for that season. These had not yet been completed.

[We also asked] why state farms did not realize a profit in their production operations in spite of the fact that the state subsidized them every year. He said that this was due to the fixed price [of goods] which must be based on studying the real cost per feddan or per ton. This is what the real fixed price is to be based upon.

## Irrigation and Engineering Administration

We went afterwards to the Irrigation and Engineering Administration, and we met with the brothers Muhammad Nasir al-Sa'di, director of the Workshops Development Project at the leasing stations, and with 'Abdallah Mahbub, the training and qualifying division official. [We went to them] to discuss the matter about the stations not fulfilling their obligations to the cooperatives.

Brother al-Sa'di explained that the stations that were connected to the administration were those of (Lawdar), (Nasab), Bayhan, Mayfa'ah and (Say'un). The other stations in the remaining governorates were independent. "The reason why we do not meet the needs of the cooperatives in the context of meeting the needs of our stations is the shortage of machines in some governorates."

On the same subject Brother 'Abdallah Mahbub says, "The basic problem in our not meeting the needs of the cooperatives is due to the lack of coordination between the cooperatives and the stations which lease machines in the governorates. The cooperatives need the machines at the same time during the days of the agricultural season and especially during rainy days. During the remaining days of the year the machines are idle. Cooperatives are supposed to put those machines into operation in the preliminary tillings [of the soil] at regular intervals and prior to irrigation instead of asking for them at the same time."

He also added that in their present condition, with the spare parts shortage they are suffering from, the leasing stations cannot meet the needs of the cooperatives in the desired manner.

## The Secret Behind the Spare Parts That Were Imported by the Agricultural Development Fund and Are Stored in the Warehouses of the Leasing Stations

Brother al-Sa'di says that the Agricultural Development Fund was set up at a time prior to the importation of quantities of spare parts. It is possible that there was some coordination between the fund and some of the financially independent stations (in the governorates). But the process of distributing all these parts to all these stations was carried out at specific ratios. These parts are not used up quickly, nor are they what was requested. Most of them are spare parts for entire machines.

Brother al-Sa'di adds by way of explaining the lack of coordination between the administration and the Agricultural Development Fund: "In 1975 the Fund had imported about 100 Japanese tractors which were distributed to the leasing stations in the governorates. According to the conditions, this was to be followed by [importing] about 15 percent of the spare parts that are used up quickly, and these were to be determined by the leasing stations. But what did happen is that another agency selected spare parts that can only be consumed over a long period of time. When any machine is

out of service, the stations purchase spare parts for it from either the Domestic Trade Company or the Foreign Trade Company while they have parts that they are not utilizing.

"We do not [always] find what we want at the Domestic Trade Company or at the Foreign Trade Company. Sometimes our machines become idle because what these companies have in storage does not correspond with what we want. As a result some stations resort to sending some of their people to the North--to the stations of al-Dali', al-Habilayn and (Lawdar Ja'ar)--so as to get some parts quickly."

#### Stations' Problems

Brother al-Sa'di says that the stations' problems are apparent in the following:

[1] A shortage in machines and spare parts.

[2] Small lease payments for the machines. It is for this reason that the stations cannot move to a stronger financial position in spite of the fact that the state subsidizes the stations.

Brother 'Abdallah Mahbub adds: "In addition, there are the following problems:

"The fact that the machines in the stations are of various kinds makes the local staff incapable of fulfilling the functions of maintenance.

"There has not been a central agency responsible for the stations until the second half of this year.

"There are no plans to prepare the staff for the stations that were not there in the past.

"Operators are not trained and guided before the machines are delivered to them. This leads to the improper use of the machinery."

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QATAR

MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FEARS DANGER OF REGIONAL CONFLICT

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 17-23 Dec 79 p 26

[Interview with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Ahmad ibn Sayf Al Thani, in Doha, by correspondent 'Ali Hashim: "The Important Thing Is to Avoid Regional Conflicts and Not to Burn the Bridges;" date of interview not given]

[Text] Ahmad ibn Sayf Al Thani, Qatar's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said that any regional conflict in the Persian Gulf area at this time would constitute a breach through which foreign dangers could penetrate into the entire area.

In an interview with AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, the minister called on the United States and Iran to contain the conflicts between them, because escalation of these conflicts would pose a threat to world peace.

The minister had just returned to Doha after participating in the Tunis Arab summit conference. Following the summit, he traveled to Geneva and then to Saudi Arabia in the company of the Amir of the State of Qatar, Khalifa ibn Hamad Al Thani. The latter held talks with King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz and high Saudi Government officials concerning the situation in the area and the attack on the Grand Mosque.

Our interview with the minister follows:

[Question] There is much talk about the dangers which threaten the Gulf area these days. What is the Qatar's conception of these dangers?

[Answer] By virtue of its strategic position, and the fact that it is a vital source of energy, the Gulf continues to be the focus of special international attention--not with an eye to pillaging its resources, because this is practically impossible, but with an eye to taking advantage of these

resources to the greatest possible extent. We realize this, and we are aware how dark the political and military clouds are, because these clouds are becoming heavy above our area. When we call earnestly and decisively for the Gulf area, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea to be excluded from the arena of the world struggle between the two giants, we are exercising one of our rights, namely the protection of our land, our property and our children, as well as the protection of world peace. In order for us to contribute to making this right a reality, we realize that total Gulf coordination and communication are the most important pillars of stability here, because any regional conflict would certainly constitute a breach through which dangers could slip in.

#### Gulf Summit Is Up to the Leaders

[Question] Is a Gulf summit to discuss the situation in the area forthcoming?

[Answer] The situation in the area is the subject of continuous discussion on the part of all officials in the Gulf, especially in view of the rapid events occurring at present. Complete deliberations and coordination are in progress among brother Gulf officials to create additional cohesion and cooperation in the face of the events now being enacted on the Gulf, Arab and international stages. A summit conference is up to the leaders, and the convening of a summit is tied to circumstances which call for such action.

[Question] What is your opinion of what is happening between Washington and Tehran?

[Answer] Iran is a revolutionary state and the United States is a firmly established big power. By virtue of their respective political viewpoints and the dissimilarity of their visions and assumptions, the crisis was to be expected, and the problem requires joint American and Iranian restraint, bearing in mind the danger that a hardening of the positions would pose a threat to world peace.

#### Mecca Incidents

[Question] Are the incidents which occurred in Saudi Arabia seen as pointing to the possibility of similar incidents in other states?

[Answer] The entire Islamic world has seen clearly that the group which carried out the sinful attack on the Grand Mosque was made up of extreme radicals who strayed from the right path and wickedly attempted to violate the holy city of Mecca. What happened in Mecca is only an isolated event which cannot be viewed as an indication that similar events or complications might arise either in Saudi Arabia or elsewhere. All one has to do is look at the goals and positions of the misguided group to know how distant and isolated it is from the reality of Islamic life and how far it has strayed from true religious principles. The group sought to accomplish its misguided goals, but God dashed its hopes.

Gulf Unity

[Question] Don't you believe that Gulf unity offers more security for the states and peoples of the area?

[Answer] We feel absolutely certain that Gulf unity as well as overall Arab unity are matters of fateful importance. The amir of Qatar confirmed this when he said that the relations which bind us with the Gulf states particularly are the relations of true brothers strengthened by proximity and reinforced by common interests. Moreover, they are relations based on a cultural legacy and a human history which binds us to one another to march side by side toward a better common future. The relations which now exist among the Gulf states and our brother Arab states are dynamic relations marked by their flexibility and their ability to adapt to events quickly and to further strengthen the coordination which now exists among them in all fields. Thus, there is coordination in the political field and cooperation and integration in the economic field, not to mention steadily growing relations in the cultural and information fields, among others.

Tunis Summit

[Question] Were the resolutions of the Tunis summit positive, and if so, why?

[Answer] Of course, the resolutions were positive. This sprang from the desire to keep the Palestinian gun aimed, powerful and effective against the Zionist enemy through integrated Arab support aimed at safeguarding the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people and achieving these rights under the leadership of the PLO, which is the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. This is the same Arab desire which was manifested in the unanimous agreement to strengthen Lebanon's unity; support it materially; and fulfill all possible conditions for it to regain sovereignty over all its territory and to work side by side with the Palestinian resistance, because Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance are a joint Arab responsibility.

The Palestinian Problem

[Question] Has progress been achieved on the Palestinian problem since the Baghdad summit? And are you optimistic about the future?

[Answer] The struggle of the Palestinian people has lasted more than half a century, beginning with the Balfour Declaration. It is a struggle which is progressing daily and achieving victories both in the area of safeguarding the legitimate and established national rights of this steadfast Arab people, and in the area of attracting international recognition of this people's rights of self-determination, return [of refugees to their homeland], and establishment of an independent Palestinian state. By opposing the split within the Camp David agreements caused in the Arab front, the Baghdad summit enabled the PLO to bypass these schemes aimed at ignoring it and destroy the things it has accomplished through its struggle. It can be said

objectively that 1970 was a year of practical and real Arab and international solidarity with the Palestinian people. The Palestinian problem is no longer a marginal issue, but has become a part of the Middle East crisis. This is what the nations of the Third World and the United Nations want. There is also a [favorable] development in the European position in general. I am optimistic by nature. Objectively, there can be no peace in the Middle East without a just and total solution for the Palestinian problem, which is no longer a problem of refugees, but a problem of national liberation supported by all forces that love justice, truth and peace. Therefore, the Palestinian people are reassuming their position at the head of the world's political agenda, and the Palestinian homeland will regain its Arab identity. Victory is near as long as Arab resources are dedicated to it.

#### Arab Solidarity

[Question] Arab solidarity is more talk than it is a reality. What do you propose to make this solidarity a reality?

[Answer] I disagree with you on this. Arab solidarity is a reality, be it with regard to the issue of Palestine or the security of the Gulf. It is a solidarity which is growing in power as the size of the imminent dangers to the Arab nation grows. While it is true that there are local conflicts, they remain insignificant and peripheral. They are the exception rather than the rule. The efforts to reach total Arab unity are an existing reality, even though they are slow and sometimes suffer setbacks. Nonetheless, these efforts are continuous in their general historical context. Egypt's departure from the Arab consensus is not the end of the matter, but merely a breach which can be closed. And I do not think that any Arab state would abandon Egypt and its Arab people if they were exposed to any sudden danger.

I can confirm with absolute certainty that Arab solidarity is in fact operating, though at its minimum level. It is what we try to accomplish too quickly which gives the impression that Arab solidarity is impossible to achieve at present. The Arab nation realizes that the world of today is a world of political [association, not solitary action]. Therefore, Arab unity is most certainly coming. The important thing is not to burn the bridges.

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INFORMATION MINISTER COMMENTS ON INFORMATION CONFERENCE, ARAB PRESS

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 23-30 Dec 79 pp 23-24

[Interview with Minister of Information 'Isa Chanim al-Kuwari, in Doha, by 'Ali Hashim: "We Are Working Toward Information Integration in the Gulf;" date not given]

[Text] On 12 February, the Fifth Conference of Information Ministers of the Persian Gulf States will be held in Doha. 'Isa Chanim al-Kuwari, the minister of information and director of the Office of the Amir of Qatar, which is the host state for the conference, talked with AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI about the role of Arab information during the current phase, its pluses and minuses in the past, and the aspirations that the ministers of information in the Gulf states have regarding it.

[Question] The ministers of information of the Gulf states will hold their fifth conference in Qatar this coming February. Have the resolutions of the previous conference been implemented, and what has been achieved? Will the fifth conference be equal to events?

[Answer] It cannot be said that all the resolutions of past conferences have been implemented, since priority dictated that attention be focused on the establishment of joint institutions and organizations. Specialized organizations which came out of the conference were assigned the task of implementing these resolutions. The first and second conferences were devoted especially to establishing the frameworks of cooperation and coordination among the area states in the field of information, and studying the areas of responsibility and structures of the joint information organizations charged with achieving this cooperation and coordination. Some of the most important resolutions which have been implemented in this area include the establishment of the GULF NEWS AGENCY in Bahrain, the Joint Program Production Organization in Kuwait, the Gulf Television System in Riyadh, and the Coordinating Center for Radio and Television Training in Doha. There is also the Center for Information Consolidation soon to be established in Baghdad. In the area of the press and publications, approval has been given to a number of important recommendations aimed at simplifying the process of distributing and exchanging printed matter among the area states.

The organizations mentioned above are proceeding according to their respective plans. Thus, the Program Production Organization has produced 130 installments of the series "Open Sesame" which has begun to be shown on all area television channels. "Open Sesame" is an educational program especially for children. The organization also has plans to produce "The Islamic Encyclopedia," which is an educational Islamic series.

The GULF NEWS AGENCY has been able to assert its presence in spite of the strong competition from the international news agencies.

In the area of training, regional courses have been set up in Doha, Kuwait and Baghdad for young people working in the radio and television field. These courses have proven their effectiveness both theoretically and practically and have provided an opportunity for workers in the radio and television fields to get to know each other. This success has encouraged continuation, expansion and diversification in the area of training.

The Gulf Television System began its activities last year. These activities include coordinating consolidated television broadcasting, allocating television channels, consolidating sources of programs and series, and keeping an eye on the standard and content of these programs. Member states have approved a code for the television profession which lays down the principles, fundamentals and rules that television workers should follow in their work.

With regard to the question of whether or not the Doha conference will be equal to events, this conference will reevaluate the activities of all of the organizations mentioned previously in terms of the information return they are expected to yield versus the costs, efforts and manpower invested in them. What is certain is that this area is going through an important stage in its development and aspirations toward a better future. There are many internal and external indications which define the characteristics of this stage. It is also certain that joint information coordination will be reflected positively in political and social decisions throughout the area, because information activity is a reflection of political decisions.

Through the experience of joint information, we have become convinced that information coordination is the first step toward unifying ideas in societies that are based on the same values and are part of the same civilization and the same culture. Accordingly, the next resolutions will, of course, be equal to events.

#### Oil Information

[Question] There has been talk in the past of oil information to counter the campaigns to which the oil states are being subjected. What has been accomplished toward this?

[Answer] Talk about oil information and the organization of a joint information operation to counter the biased campaigns to which the area states are subjected is not new. The idea began with the proposal that a special center be established to deal with informational materials pertaining to oil, energy and prices. In other words, the center would deal with everything related to the oil problem, which the industrialized states have turned into an international problem and linked strongly with the process of advancement and development in the world. This situation has convinced area information organizations of the necessity of bringing a new kind of fact to world public opinion, whose way of thinking--and thus way of acting--is dominated by a single type of idea which flow through a single channel, i.e., the awful network of world information organizations which are controlled by agencies with interests completely unrelated to the interests of the area. Faced with this situation, thinking in the oil states was directed toward achieving effective information action in this area with the aim of penetrating the information monopoly imposed on Western public opinion--not only in the presentation of the oil and energy issue but in the presentation of all issues pertaining to the Arab world and the Third world in general.

What we have attained and accomplished in this area is the implementation of a rapid information action plan for 1979. This plan included three main activities: the holding of seminars and lectures at the international level; the production of television films and the televising of these films in Europe, America and Japan; and the publication and distribution of numerous books related to oil policy in international foreign languages. Every part of this plan has now been implemented. During the approaching Doha conference, we will conduct a general evaluation of the benefit derived from these activities, and on the basis of this evaluation we will decide how to proceed with similar plans and we will reconsider the establishment of a special information center concerned with oil. It is also worth mentioning that the activities connected with this matter were carried out in cooperation and coordination with the Information Department of CAPEC. This department put its information resources and services at the disposal of the oil information committee which sprang from the conference.

In addition, the information organizations in the affected countries convey the opinion of the Arab states of the oil to the rest of the world on a daily basis through their programs, publications, seminars and meetings with journalists, as well as their monitoring of information activity abroad. The oil information plan is only a supplementary part of steadfast and continuous action through both the information ministries and the other ministries.

The oil, finance and foreign ministries are all active and effective in this same field, and the role of the conference is to coordinate these activities and create the organizations and mechanisms responsible for publicizing them through information, as well as offering courses and providing informational materials with a high level of quality and content.

## Arab Information Abroad

[Question] What do you propose to make Arab information potent abroad, especially in the United States and Europe?

[Answer] This can be achieved through several means, the most important of which are these:

1. The establishment of information offices in all major capitals of the world, seeing to it that appropriate budgets are allocated to enable these offices to carry out their information missions, which they would accomplish by issuing information publications. In these publications, they would concentrate on awakening world public opinion to the facts about the Arab issue, which Zionist information has succeeded in concealing from the world; informing public opinion about the progress that has been made by the Arab countries; and refuting the falsehoods of Zionism and the lies which Zionism spreads about the backwardness of the peoples of the Arab nation.
2. Bolstering the information offices with capable individuals who are specialists in the information field and have a complete knowledge of the intricacies of the Arab problem, enabling them to convey the facts to the world skillfully and effectively.
3. The formation of delegations which would tour states throughout the world on a continuous basis and hold information seminars and discussions to explain Arab issues. This could be done directly or through television and radio.
4. The establishment of permanent coordination between Arab information offices and Arab students at various universities and scientific institutes in the different foreign countries.
5. The production of radio and television programs on a continuous basis through which world public opinion can be awakened to the facts concerning Arab issues and informed about the progress which the various Arab countries have achieved and are continuing to achieve.
6. Inviting prominent legislators, journalists and information officials from America and Europe to visit the Arab countries, seeking to make them sympathetic toward Arab problems, and attempting to win over the major newspapers and magazines which influence world public opinion.

## The Emigrant Press

[Question] Do you favor establishing Arab foreign-language newspapers abroad, or purchasing foreign newspapers with their organizations and continuing to publish them in accordance with Arab interests?

[Answer] The answer to this question has several different parts:

First, the Arab newspapers that are published abroad in the Arabic language do not yield any information return. At best they are merely a connecting link between the Arab emigrants in the areas where they are published and the emigrants' mother country.

Second, the establishment of Arab newspapers published in foreign languages abroad has information advantages, but these advantages are limited, especially when the newspapers are known to be Arab-owned. Moreover, such newspapers will inevitably be subjected to malicious campaigns by Zionist information organizations and foreign newspapers which are subject to Zionist control and the financial influence of Jews.

For this reason, the success of such Arab newspapers is very doubtful. In fact, they certainly run the risk of failure and an inability to continue publication.

Third, there remains the last option, which is to purchase foreign newspapers with their organizations and continue publishing them in accordance with Arab interests.

This option is more effective information-wise and more certain to serve the Arab cause than the other options because such newspapers continue publication--after they are purchased by Arabs--without Zionist forces holding any sway over them or being in a position to influence public opinion to boycott them and fight against them. Moreover, any foreign newspapers that the Arabs could purchase would have a greater information effect on foreign public opinion than any Arab newspaper published in any foreign language. This is because public opinion abroad would trust such newspapers more than any newspaper which is suspected of being Arab, and because public opinion would consider such newspapers to be neutral and would accept their opinions more readily than they would the opinions of other newspapers committed to promoting one side or another.

#### Future Aspirations

[Question] Are there new plans to develop Qatari information and Gulf information generally?

[Answer] We are always striving to develop our information organizations. A few days ago, and at the beginning of this month, new medium-wave 750-kilowatt transmitters were inaugurated for Qatar Radio. This brings Qatar Radio's broadcasting power up to 1,500 kilowatts enabling it to cover most countries of the Arab world as well as countries in Asia and Africa. For the first time in the Arab world, the Yagi system is being used with these transmitters. This system operates in four directions through an angle of 780 degrees. In addition, the Popular Radio will be inaugurated on 1 January 1980. Experimental television broadcasts are now being made on channel 11, and these broadcasts will be inaugurated on a permanent basis at the beginning of next year. They will cover both the north and south of the country. Other projects and studies are also underway to develop and improve the different information organizations.

With regard to new plans to develop Gulf information, we are working with our brothers in the area states to achieve Gulf information integration. I hope that the approaching conference of information ministers of the Gulf states will take additional rapid measures to attain the integration which we seek and strive for so that Gulf information will also experience the coordination and integration which the area states have achieved in various other areas, including the economic, political, social and educational fields.

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CSO: 4802

QATAR

OIL MINISTER TALKS ABOUT OPEC PROBLEMS

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic /3-30 Dec 79 p 47

[Interview with Minister of Finance and Oil 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn Khalifa Al Thani, in Qatar, by correspondent 'Ali Hashim: "Oil Minister: The Oil Companies Are Thieves;" date of interview not given]

[Text] "The important thing in my opinion is not so much price increases as the continuation of OPEC and the solidarity of the OPEC states." This was the comment of Qatar's Minister of Finance and Oil 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn Khalifa Al Thani in a conversation with AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI prior to his trip to Caracas to attend OPEC's 55th conference.

With regard to the possibility of replacing the dollar with a basket of currencies, the minister said: "It is better to continue doing business with the dollar. The decline in the dollar's value naturally affects our revenues, but we can compensate for this with the profits we realize from the dollar itself through interest, because interest on the dollar is higher than interest on other currencies. If the decline of the dollar continues, however, then we could look for another formula."

Concerning the possibility of either a cut in production--in support of Iran's position vis-a-vis the United States--or an increase in production, the minister said: "Our intention is to maintain production, not to decrease it or increase it."

[Question] Do you see the possibility of achieving a balance between oil prices and the continuously rising prices of foreign industries?

[Answer] The industrialized states have to achieve a balance between the prices of their products and oil prices. As far as we're concerned, we will not raise prices by a large amount, and it is up to the industrialized

states to maintain corresponding prices for their industries. In the past, there was the so-called "North-South dialog," but unfortunately this dialog has failed.

The Industrialized states are voicing their uneasiness about oil prices, but they must learn that it is their companies which are manipulating prices. These companies, which I call the "oil thieves," are collecting fantastic profits. They buy oil for \$23.00 a barrel, which is the OPEC price, and sell it for \$45.00 or \$50.00 a barrel. OPEC is judicious in all its decisions and is not responsible for all this. It is the "oil thieves" which are responsible, and the industrialized states must not buy from the spot market as long as OPEC's markets are open and their prices are fixed.

[Question] Is a resumption of the dialog between the oil-producing states and the oil-consuming states conceivable?

[Answer] We would welcome the resumption of this dialog and any dialog which could achieve results. We want meetings that will guarantee our interests and the interests of the world. The oil will run out one day, and the world must search for a new formula which will guarantee continued supplied of energy.

[Question] Is the crisis between Washington and Tehran affecting OPEC?

[Answer] OPEC is an economic organization and has no connection with politics.

[Question] Is there any Arab coordination inside and outside of OPEC?

[Answer] Arab coordination exists, and its purpose is to ensure the cohesion of OPEC and agreement on prices. We have coordinated our plans before leaving, and this yields definite results.

[Question] How can the Rotterdam spot market be eliminated?

[Answer] It is the oil companies which are marketing to the Rotterdam market and sell oil for fantastic prices. It is up to the parties concerned to boycott this market, and then the profits of the "oil thieves" will disappear.

[Question] Is it possible to stop the operations of middlemen in the oil market?

[Answer] For our part, we do not deal with middlemen. We sell directly to those who have contracts with us without any middlemen.

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CSO: 4802

QATAR

BRIEFS

STEEL MILL PRODUCTION INCREASE--Engineer Muhammad Muhammad Sa'id al-Mishal, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Iron and Steel Mill in Umm Su'aydan, has announced that the mill's production of iron rods has exceeded by nearly 40,000 tons the planned production for this year [1979]. He said that production in the first half of the year amounted to 180,202 tons which rose to 196,572 tons in the second half of the year. Thus the mill's total production rods amounted to 377,000 tons whereas the plan had called for the production of 337,000 tons of rods. Engineer al-Mishal discussed the reasons for this big increase in production, saying: The credit goes to the present efficiency of the workers, in addition to the precise system followed in the mill and the process of constant maintenance and observation of the equipment. He added that the system of incentives and of constant training applied to the workers has had a big impact on increasing production. Moreover, the workers have proven that they oppose high skills and capabilities that have exceeded all the initial estimates. The chairman of the Board of Directors of the Iron and Steel Mill also pointed out the success of the use of the system of the electronic computer control of the daily production plan and noted that some technical modifications have been made on the mill's equipment, thus contributing toward higher production. On marketing the mill's production of iron rods--or rods used for reinforced concrete--Engineer al-Mishal said that the local consumption of this commodity amounts to 40,000 tons annually and that the rest is enough to meet the needs of all Arab Gulf countries. [Text] [Doha AL-'URUBAH in Arabic 3 Jan 80 p 7] 8494

CSO: 4802

SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI FINANCE MINISTER INTERVIEWED

Paris AL-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 28 Jan 80 pp 6-8

[Interview with Mohammed Aba al-Khair, Saudi finance minister, date and place not given]

[Text]

Q: OPEC Finance Ministers have agreed in this meeting in Vienna to increase the OPEC Special Fund's resources by \$800 million to \$2.4 billion. It was said that you reached an agreement concerning the distribution of the additional funds among member countries according to usual contributions of OPEC countries to the Fund. But how is it possible to reach such an agreement when Iran is absent?

A: This is true. Iran was absent and did not take part in the decision concerning the distribution of the \$800 million, the second increase in the resources of the OPEC Special Fund to which OPEC countries have contributed in the same percentages as before. Iran used to be the biggest contributor, followed by Saudi Arabia.

Its absence and the lack of information concerning Iran's contribution was in fact part of our concern during this meeting, where we took a long time discussing this problem and how to deal with it. I had the opportunity to look at the telegram sent by the Iranian Finance Minister to the Chairman of the meeting where he intimates that Iran is willing to cooperate with OPEC countries to assist developing countries.

The meeting took up a recommendation to appeal to Iran to contribute to the OPEC Fund in the same percentage as before and we hope Iran will reply positively. If Iran does not contribute, or if it contributes by a lesser share than before, the additional

\$800 million will be reduced by the reduction in Iran's usual share.

Q: Do you mean that if Iran reduces the percentage of its contribution, the increase of the OPEC Fund resources would be less than \$800 million?

A: Yes, the amount will be less than \$800 million. If Iran decides not to contribute at all, the new increase would be \$800 million less \$210 million - Iran's share. In any case such a reduction will not be a hindrance to the normal activities of the OPEC Fund; of course it is our concern and it is very important for OPEC countries that Iran contributes and the OPEC Secretary General will do his best to encourage Iran to reply positively to our appeal.

Q: Would that mean that OPEC Fund resources will not reach \$4 billion, as decided by Oil Ministers in Caracas?

A: The \$800 million increase was decided since our last meeting and its confirmation means that the OPEC Fund resources are now of \$2.4 billion, assuming that Iran contributes as before. However, the recommendation presented by the Oil Ministers in Caracas to bring up the Fund's resources to \$4 billion is a recommendation that has been presented to the governments; after the governments examine it they will present it to the Finance Ministers in the council responsible for the Fund.

Owing to the short time between the Caracas meeting and this Vienna meeting, some countries may have taken guidelines in this regard but others did not have time to adopt any, so it was impossible to discuss this subject here. Note that the Caracas recommendation

was in a way a kind of ceiling, the amount proposed was not a final one.

It was then decided by OPEC Finance Ministers that we would hold a meeting next May to discuss the subject, giving our respective governments the time needed to take their decisions.

Q: Oil prices are increasing and oil bills of the Third World countries are growing bigger and are expected to reach \$40 billion in the coming year. What is the solution according to you for compensating the deficit of these countries or for assisting them, accepting that the OPEC Fund is not a compensatory utility?

A: First, we have to make it clear that the problems facing developing countries as a result of the deterioration of the terms of trade are caused by many factors, among them rising prices of their imports from industrialised countries and of their oil imports. The second point is that developing countries with low incomes have relatively limited imports of oil, so the increase of oil prices has a limited effect on them. If we take developing countries globally and take a general look at countries with developed external trade like Brazil, Korea and Taiwan we see that those with an industrial capacity import more oil than the poor countries. Statistics show that 70 per cent of oil imports for the developing countries go to 10 countries only.

I wanted to clarify this picture because it is not often presented this way. As long as some countries import oil and a large part of their GNP comes from export trade, it is normal that their export trade compensate their payments for oil.

Concerning the Saudi Kingdom, I would like to stress that Saudi Arabia as well as all developing countries and international and regional development institutions feels that it is doing its utmost, aidwise. Our country is second in granting aid after the US. Saudi Arabia contributes to 12 development funds; its average contribution is not less than 25 per cent of these funds' resources. This is coupled with the Saudi Fund, which has a capital SR10 billion (\$3 billion).

Hence, Saudi Arabia does not feel that the increase in the prices of oil this time or previously is to be linked to the aid that it grants or should be a factor of pressure on the Kingdom.

Saudi Arabia looks at the OPEC Fund in the same way it looks on other funds; our contribution stems from a unique outlook. We are not like some other OPEC countries which have no other channels for aid except the OPEC Fund. These countries may link the

increase of the prices of oil to their contributions in the Fund, but our country does not agree on this principle.

Q: In the last OPEC meeting in Caracas, Algeria, Venezuela and Iran suggested the creation of an OPEC Bank to assist the Third World and to replace the OPEC Fund. What is your position on that?

A: I believe that now that the OPEC Fund has been amended into an international permanent agency instead of a special independent account, this is enough. It is possible to amend its charter to improve its adaptation to special circumstances, hence I consider the Fund an excellent aid institution open to improvements and there is no need to replace it by something else. I believe that it would be more positive if the world concentrated on improving existing aid institutions instead of thinking of creating new ones.

There are now five or six existing proposals to be examined by UNCTAD and the Group of 77 and others; however, I believe that some officials concerned with development share my view on improving existing institutions instead of wasting time and effort talking about projects, some of which are unrealistic and others proposed for political reasons.

Q: We heard in Caracas that Saudi Arabia was ready to go up to \$26 for the price of its barrel of crude on condition that differentials would be restored by other OPEC countries. This did not happen and the prices were not unified; is there a possibility of this occurring at the expected extraordinary OPEC conference? Will Saudi Arabia raise its price to \$26 to unify oil prices?

A: I do not like to comment on something which is not yet decided. However, I know very well that the Saudi policy aims at unifying prices and Saudi Arabia believes that we have to achieve this target. This policy has been stated more than once and put into practice as well.

I believe that the unification of prices is in the interest of the world economy. If we take into consideration the expected conditions for supply and demand this year and if these expectations prove to be true, then circumstances will favour the unification of oil prices of OPEC and I think that some officials of producing countries have indicated that.

Q: Do you have any idea on how long Saudi Arabia will maintain its 9.5 million b/d oil production level?

A: This has not yet been decided.

Q: It is often heard nowadays that the escalation in the price of gold is linked to that of oil prices and that many

**Gulf countries are buying big quantities of gold. What do you think of that? Is this true?**

**A:** This is completely false. There is no direct relation whatsoever between gold and the price of oil, and what has been said on some producing countries buying gold is not true. Those spreading such rumours have no proof to substantiate this claim. They are either mistaken or looking for a sensational press effect. I do not know of any Arab producing country (of course I am speaking of Gulf countries) buying gold.

The real issue is gold itself, it is not linked to oil prices. Whether or not an individual buys gold and whether or not a Central Bank buys gold are two different issues. It may be that the increase is true in the price of gold has attracted private capital from Gulf countries, not to stock gold but for speculation. But this does not involve only private money from the Gulf, it includes all the world. Most of the capital that is directed by Western banks to the gold market for speculation comes from the West. Let us not forget that the amount of gold on the money market is very limited; it is a false belief that speculation with gold requires huge capital and that this sort of capital only exists in the Arab oil producing countries.

There were recently some studies done on the relation of gold with the general economic situation in the world. Many analysts stated that speculation with gold is outside the scope of the world economy. I think this is true. There is an indirect link with Western countries possessing gold reserves. The increase in the value of these gold reserves would increase their reserves. This would lead to the increase of liquidity.

If this is correct, the increase of liquidities will encourage more inflation, which would have a bad impact on the world economy, but this issue relates to Western countries and I think they are aware of this situation.

Recently governors of central banks met in Basle and there was a proposal from the governors of the Swiss Wolkbank that the central banks intervene to cut down the gold market, but the proposal was rejected. In any case the problem of prices of gold creates a psychological impact that could have indirectly a negative impact on the financial situation. That is why I hope that Western countries will do something to calm down the market of gold.

**Q: How far has the freeze of Iranian assets by the US affected the long term financial policy of OPEC countries, especially Saudi Arabia? Are you still on the same policy of strong support to the dollar?**

**A:** Our support for the dollar is not a political decision, but is based on the reality of the world we live in. There is no alternative. However, there is an evolution that

may reduce the pressure on the dollar as an international reserve currency like the substitution account and other proposals for the future.

There is no change in the financial policy of Saudi Arabia. Any investor looks to the best way to increase his financial potential.

Regarding external investments, diversification is the best way and diversification is wide. There is no limit to it.

**Q: But isn't the US freeze of Iranian assets a dangerous measure?**

**A:** It is indeed very serious, and has an impact on the confidence between banks, on loan and deposit agreements.

**Q: How does this impact concretise?**

**A:** It concretises through the improvement of the legal arrangements and through diversification.

**Q: An official of Morgan Guaranty stated that the international banking system will not be able to cope with the surpluses of OPEC countries within a few years. What is your comment?**

**A:** I do not think this is true and I fear that one of the Vice-Presidents of Morgan Guaranty who stated this was under the pressure of this mood of cautiousness that seemed to hit world banks as a result of a general context tending towards pessimism. However, I do not believe that this is true and the absorptive capacity of OPEC surpluses is big. A few years ago when OPEC reserves increased, the same words were said and at that time the absorptive capacity of OPEC surpluses was one quarter of what it is today. In spite of this, OPEC countries managed to move quickly and boost their development. The same thing will happen this time.

Many developing countries have resorted to the Eurodollar and the Eurodollar market helped them a lot in past years. Western countries and institutions would be willing to adopt policies to put pressure on this market as this would put developing countries in a difficult position and could lead to the deterioration of the situation of some of these countries which once more could affect negatively some financial institutions.

**Q: Egypt announced recently that it will freeze Arab money, specifically Saudi Arabia's money, Kuwait's and Iraq's. Is this true? How is it possible?**

**A:** They have informed the IMF that for national security reasons they will forbid the transfer of these loans and the case is presented to the IMF which will meet before the end of February to discuss the subject. This case will of course entail long discussions because this goes back to an article of a decision of the IMF Board in 1957. This matter will be handled by this international financial institution.

SAUDI ARABIA

BRIEFS

WOMEN-ONLY BANK--Saudi Arabia's first bank run by and exclusively for women opened last week in Riyadh. Rajhi Company for Currency and Training, which owns the bank, said it would operate in accordance with Islamic tradition and custom discouraging the mixing of the sexes; an Interior Ministry statement said the move would enable women to benefit from the country's wealth "without compromising their modesty and traditional role." Under Saudi law, women may own and manage real estate and businesses and reports from Jeddah last week said that the new bank would perform most normal banking operations. [Text] [Paris AL-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 4 Feb 80 p 11]

CSO: 4820

## INSIDE STORY OF BA'ATH PARTY CONGRESS GIVEN

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 25 Jan 80 pp 17-18

[Article by Farid al-Khatib and Rabi' Matar: "The Movement To Reform the Reform in Syria"]

(Text) As usual, the news from Damascus gets out late!

In the past, it was delayed a few days. Today, by virtue of the ingenuity of information, it is delayed a few weeks! This information about Syria which we are publishing today was presumably published last week or the week before. But, as the French proverb says, better late than never. What happened during the elections of the national Ba'th party congress, and in the debates which revolved around them, makes one think that a new air will dominate the party, especially since some of these debates were very sharp, or, as Former Minister Muhammad Haydar said, frank. In his words, "Frankness is very expensive these days, as indicated by the fact that I lost my position in the leadership ranks and in the government!"

In any case, it is clear that the matter basically revolves around the question: Do we represent the ruling party or are we the ruling party? The party had raised this slogan in the past when reacting to Late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, stressing that it wanted the ruling party to be with 'Abd-al-Nasir, not to be 'Abd-al-Nasir.

Therefore, discussion is revolving around an aspect which many consider extremely important -that the party, when it rules, takes on greater responsibilities and is required to play a more important role, which necessitates the removal of the "cliques," i.e. the groupings, which are pre-occupied with advantages and power.

At the same time, President Hafiz al-Asad is apparently thinking along an entirely different wavelength. It is said that he wants to inject new persons into the party who are not immersed in the problems about which the people are clamoring.

The question is: Is this a new reform movement to reform the old one?

Ruling circles say that al-Asad tried to straighten things out before, but the power centers, or what some party figures call the cliques, tried to prevent it!

Although the basic complaint which cropped up during and outside the national congress was about the nonutilization of new ideas to strengthen the course of affairs, another complaint dealt with a matter no less important in the opinion of some members. The party is promoting progressive slogans, but most of its agencies are monochromatic, which leads its adversaries to accuse it of sectarianism!

It is worth mentioning here that when President al-Asad received a delegation from Aleppo after last year's artillery school massacre there, he addressed the delegation, which was headed by the mufti of Aleppo, as follows: "I am speaking to you today as a Moslem and as secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. The crime which has happened will not alter our political or economic plan. It is in my power to call on the party, not the army, to go down to the city to comb it and fight the reactionaries and those linked with Zionism and imperialism. If they can triumph over the party there, then they are welcome to do so. But I will not do this."

That day, the mufti of Aleppo assured him that he wouldn't do it.

Now, the national congress is an occasion to review everything that has happened, for the purpose of a new confrontation. The party hopes that there will be a motivation strong enough to get matters right.

It is true that the conference was held at the Sheraton Hotel in Damascus, and that it booked the entire hotel during the Christmas-New Year's period. But the conferees would not stop their discussions even when the time came to turn off the lights at the end of the old year and the start of the new year, because of their desire to finish once and for all with the mistakes and sick phenomena.

President al-Asad himself admitted these mistakes and sick phenomena in a speech he gave to the People's Assembly, advising it that the government was in a crisis. A party official told AL-HAWADITH, "We have been afflicted with flabbiness and negligence. The arteries between the people, the party officials and the 'leader' are blocked. We have fallen into shortcomings."

When we asked him, "Why doesn't President al-Asad get up and start treating the defects and overcoming the deficiencies, and make those responsible for them pay the price?" he answered, "It is the president's nature to love continuity and hate sudden change, shake-ups and noisy activity. He feels he is above changing the economic equilibrium by punishing the private sector."

It seems that part of this nature is a reaction to the series of military coups which Syria underwent during the fifties and sixties and whose time is now past. Therefore, he waited over a year--and in several cases 1 years-- before calling to account those responsible for the defects and shortcomings, waiting for the convening of the national party congress so that their downfall could come "naturally" without any outcry or uproar!

The congress actually resulted in losses for many and unexpected gains for many others.

It is important that it was assumed that the national congress would be held last April, but was delayed by 8 months.

During these 8 months, there were active preparations to ensure that the intended goal would be achieved.

The surprising thing about the congress was that Dr Rif'at al-Asad entered the debates on the offensive, according to the French paper LE MONDE. He attacked corruption, manipulation, exploitation of influence, and neglect of the public's demands. He himself supervised the trend which over a period of 16 days (from late 1979 to early 1980) led to the achievement of the following results.

1. The officials to whom the defects and shortcomings were attributed were dropped. One-third of the national command's membership (21 members) was removed and others took their places. Between the entrances and exits it became clear that seven officials were firmly in command: President al-Asad, 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, Mustafa Talas, Rif'at al-Asad, Zuhayr Shariqah, and Ahmad Diyab.
2. Axes and groups inside the command were eliminated. For example, the former secretary general was not cooperating with National Command Member Rif'at al-Asad, and was arming himself with his position to refuse al-Asad's demands. It was said that these axes and groups led to the perpetration of the mistakes and the negligence.
3. The authorities and the party were merged to eliminate duplication of effort. This was accomplished by bringing in a number of responsible officials from the national command: Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad, Mahmud al-Ayyubi, Chief of Staff Maj Gen Hikmat al-Shihabi, Political Department Director Maj Gen Nasir al-Din Nasir, and Governors Dr 'Abd-al-Rauf al-Kism (now prime minister), Maj Walid Hamdun, and Tawfiq Salihah. Six persons left the party command, among them Former Prime Minister Maj Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Khulayfawi and 'Abd-al-Ghani Ibrahim.
4. The national congress had commissioned President al-Asad to present a list with the names of candidates for the national command and the central committee. But with the congress' approval he delegated that task to

a committee which drew up extensive lists and submitted them to him. He eliminated the proteges of his brother Rif'at—for example, 'Abdallah Ahmad (ultimately removed from the party command), Yusuf al-As'ad (who remained in the central committee) and Muhammad Haydar (who remained only in the national command). The national congress voted to approve the new members of the party leadership who were nominated by the committee and selected by al-Asad.

5. The leadership was injected with a number of technocrats: Dr al-Kism (a civil engineer), Dr Wahib Tannus (a technocrat), and 'Abd-al-Qadir Qaddirah (a chemist of Libyan origin).

In the "internal" or "secret" speech—not his speeches to the opening and closing sessions—which President al-Asad delivered to the 515 congress members, 256 of whom were observers, he drew a connection between the domestic situation, including "the terrorist activities of the Moslem Brotherhood," and foreign situations in the region, including "rejection of the two Camp David agreements and their resultant effects." He said, "We know ourselves, our friends and our enemies very well. In the midst of the harsh, fierce winds blowing over Syria, no one can uproot us. The only thing for us is perseverance and domestic progress. We shall maintain our stand, especially our rejection of the Camp David agreements. Victory over them will be the key to victory."

He said of the Moslem Brotherhood's activities, "We know the whole story in detail, and we have our hands on the nerve centers of their activity and movements, in accordance with a plan to wipe them out totally."

President al-Asad wanted to attend the first two sessions of the "political committee," which was an offshoot of the congress and was chaired by Khaddam. A source from this committee told AL-HAWADITH that the deputy prime minister for foreign affairs had submitted a report to the committee members which they debated prior to its ratification by the congress. The remarks of some members about that report varied from calling for deliberation on the unity issue to showing greater determination vis-a-vis the Palestinian cause, escalating the stand against President Anwar al-Sadat and the United States, and not allowing any force to help out the PLO. Some of them asked, "Why stress Arab solidarity, which in the final analysis is solidarity with Saudi Arabia? The main struggle will cancel the marginal struggles." Al-Asad replied, "We are on the defensive in the main struggle, and the marginal struggles should be suppressed and buried, including the struggle which has been concocted between us and Iraq."

Some opponents feel that the Syrian people are suffering from a feeling of declining patriotism, especially now that the doors to membership in the Ba'th party have been opened wide and a half million members who are different in their situations, work and responsibility from the others have entered the party. It is known that the ones who join the ruling

party usually do so seeking the easy way out, or from ambition and mercenary. This was not the case with the members when the party was in the opposition, banned or expelled. A responsible party figure confesses that opening party membership in this manner was overdoing things. But another party official stressed that this had supplied the party with thousands of true strugglers and technical experts, and that the party has ways of finding out who is not what he seems and who wants to hurt the party. In any case, the opponents and adversaries feel that the number of citizens who participate in the general elections is less than the number of members of the ruling party!

In the face of this declining citizenship, it is not enough for the ruler to raise the slogan of deepening socialism and eliminating local reaction, while distinguishing between reaction and conservatism, or to wave the warning flag for the nation and the regime, inasmuch as what is wanted from the regime is not just an "arm-twisting" but a "bone-breaking" operation. Also, what is wanted from the party is a "search for his head" and the sabotage of Syria's national infrastructure through sectarian incidents in order to call in the progressive outside the party and the "National Progressive Front" and give them the opportunity to join in the reaction to the attempt to sabotage Syria's national infrastructure. In the face of this declining patriotism, the call to divide the Syrian citizens into "those who are with Syria and those who are with Israel" is capable of bringing down the epidemic on everyone!

At the same time, the people feel that their rights are incomplete. Therefore, the national congress' resolution to eliminate "exceptions" to the law which some party figures and officials were taking not necessarily for themselves but for those who slip gifts to them ought to be affirmed in practice.

Then there is the problem of democracy and freedom. It is true that there are direct popular elections for republican president, the People's Assembly and the various popular organizations and the newly-created local administration system. But the opponents feel that this portion of democracy is not enough, and point to the fact that the lack of democracy has caused the people's lack of interest in changing the laws. They describe the property law passed a few months ago, which restricted the right to subdivide land in the country as well as the state's right to appropriate land, as having lowered the prices of land and houses to an unprecedented extent!

The standard of living is still low, and even state employees complain of it. The people queue up in long lines at the bakeries' doors to buy bread, and the cars line up at gas stations for diesel and gasoline. Therefore, it was no coincidence that one of the three offshoot committees carried the name "economic and domestic situation committee." This congress responded to one of the demands which the National Progressive

Front published in its famous statement by approving salary raises, which will be implemented this month as soon as the salary scale is issued.

Will there be any rulings on the recommendations of the "illegal wealth committee?"

Sources in this committee told AL-HAWADITH that the number of those whose dossiers have led to their indictment is fewer than the fingers on both hands. In an organization with a yearly budget of 1 billion Syrian pounds, the investigation has laid its hands on only four persons, and there is not enough evidence against them to prove that they had committed a premeditated crime! However, other sources indicate that some committee members have negotiated with some of the suspects for the payment of bribes to get out of prison. An official source said, defensively, that the government has spent 60 billion Syrian pounds on economic development, and 36 billion pounds over only 3 years. If we calculate commissions and brokerage fees for commercial dealings on the first figure at the rate of 2.5 percent, we see that it amounts to 1.5 billion pounds, a big figure for Syria. He added that the president of the republic, in order to carry out vital and urgent projects, sometimes orders the formation of an "achievement committee," which by nature is not subject to bidding and import laws. The formation of such a committee is to blame for commissions and brokerage fees, because of the commercial need for the outside world.

There remains the Moslem Brotherhood story. The president of the republic talked about them a long time in his speech to the opening session, dividing them into the misleaders and the misled, and opening the door of repentence and forgiveness to the latter group.

An official source told AL-HAWADITH that Mudarr Badran, former Jordanian prime minister, did a great deal of harm to Syria by supporting the brotherhood. He observed that Sharif 'Abd-al-Hamid Sharaf formed a new government on authority from King Husayn 3 days before the opening of the national Ba'th Party congress in Damascus.

This conference adopted a resolution abolishing the Moslem Brotherhood movement, but the movement reacted to its termination by killing an army major in the capital city!

Can the activities of the Moslem Brotherhood really be stopped?

Without trying to anticipate events, it is obvious that the burden resting on the new 47 year old Prime Minister 'Abd-al-Rauf al-Kism is very heavy, especially since the party figures see him more as an ideologue than a bold person. He joined the Ba'th Party in 1949, when the pivotal founders were Michel 'Aflaq and Salah al-Baytar. What is now required of the doctor of civil engineering who succeeded in preserving the city of Damascus is to undertake political engineering, to which no academic theories apply!

## Reforming Anger in Damascus!

Whoever believes that the Syrian people lack a sense of humor is completely mistaken. Wit is still genuine and deep-rooted and most of the time there is no accounting for it.

It is known that the Damascenes, who do not incline towards backbiting abuse, are content, whenever they are mad at someone, with saying, "Go away, get your shape [al-Kasm] out of here!" which in the classical language is, "Go away, I don't like your looks, perhaps you should get your shape out of here."

The latest witticism appeared in Damascus on the occasion of Dr al-Kism's taking over the cabinet. It says, "A friend got angry at his friend and shouted at him, 'Get your shape out of here!' The second man put his finger to his lips and whispered, 'Hush--we are quarreling with each other, and that is alright. But we don't want to get involved in politics!'" It is also said that the new government will issue an administrative decree imposing the use of new, "improved" expressions in cases of anger!

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CSO: 4802

DEVELOPMENT OF REGULATIONS FOR FOREIGN BUSINESS REVIEWED

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 26 Jan, 2 Feb, 9 Feb 80

[26 Jan 80, pp 16-17]

[Text] During the decade extending from the late fifties to the late sixties, the Syrian economy underwent basic institutional changes involving agrarian reform and nationalization of major industrial and commercial enterprises. The development effort in the Syrian Arab Republic has been carried out within the framework of successive five year development plans, with the first plan covering the period 1961-1965.

The public sector, including central government operations, dominate economic activities in the Syrian Arab Republic. In 1974, public sector investment accounted for about two-thirds of the total investment.

Although its share in total investment has remained about constant, private investment in absolute terms increased three-fold between 1970 and 1974.

Since 1970, the government had adopted substantial reorientation of economic policies with measures to encourage private sector. It has consistently reduced restrictions, although the large industrial concerns, water, electricity, banks, insurance companies and essential parts of foreign trade have remained in the hands of the State. In 1972, the government gave guarantees of full compensation against nationalization. It also started establishing free industrial and trade zones in Damascus, Aleppo, and several other places.

The encouragement of private enterprise and private foreign investment was stepped in 1974. This was needed after the losses of the 1973 war and especially after the cut-off of Arab aid from oil exporting countries. Liberalization of exchange controls and repatriation of funds were implemented. Since 1975, foreign companies could either take up an equity participation in state-controlled industries or invest directly in one of the various free zones. Even though the government would not give absolute guarantees that particular enterprises will not be nationalized,

a number of West European, Japanese and U.S. investors signed important contracts in 1975. In 1976 an agreement was signed between U.S. and the Syrian Arab Republic, the latter guaranteeing against nationalization of private U.S. investment in Syrian development projects.

In February 1977, it was announced that the joint Jordanian-Syrian Economic Committee had approved a draft law to unify the Encouragement of Investment Law in the two countries. In effect, this means that the liberal Jordanian measures to encourage foreign investment will be applied to the Syrian Arab Republic, particularly in tourism, transport and public services. Arab and foreign investors will be able to carry out free capital transfers and they will be protected against nationalization and confiscation.

Additional incentives will be given to those wishing to invest outside the main cities. Already French, West German and British delegations have been investigating the feasibility of setting up industrial estates in the newly proclaimed free zones, especially on the Jordanian frontier. It is expected that the unity with Jordan will push the Syrian Arab Republic increasingly towards further economic liberalization as it attempts to come into line with Jordan's traditionally free enterprise economy.

The current five-year plan is heavily dependent on foreign investment. The taxation system is being reconsidered, and the government is attempting to channel private funds into productive projects in the form of joint ventures with some State-owned industries.

The provisions governing the forms in which business can be conducted in the Syrian Arab Republic are scattered over various laws, regulations and decrees. With respect to laws and regulations concerning foreign investments, Decree No 210 of 25 November 1960 on Exploitation of Foreign Capital was superseded by Decree No 348 of 30 December 1969 on Exploitation of Emigrant and Arab Capital.

Resolution No 265 was also issued on June 1970 in connection with Decree No 348. In addition, Decree No 84 of 1972 provides for incentives in free zones.

[2 Feb 80, pp 26-27]

#### [Text] Companies

A foreign company can establish a private joint stock company after obtaining authorization from the Ministry of Economy provided that the majority of shareholders are Syrians. The incorporation agreement must be notarized and the articles of association must be registered at the Commerce Register.

The incorporation is published in the Official Gazette. Similar registration formalities are needed for registration of branches and agencies in Syria.

The board of directors of a joint stock company can consist of three to seven members, the majority of whom must be Syrians. The capital of a stock company cannot be less than LS 50,000.

A limited liability company can be established without any Syrian participation. However, companies with capital of LS 2,500,000 and over must be joint stock companies and offer a certain percentage of their shares to the public.

Both joint stock and limited liability companies must set aside five percent of annual profits after distribution to shareholders (retained [word illegible]) and accumulate a total of at least five percent of their capital for the purchase of government bonds.

#### Foreign Branches and Agencies

A foreign company can open a branch in the Syrian Arab Republic. It must submit a request for registration of a branch at the Ministry of Economy and External Trade. There are no special requirements for the financing of a branch. Unlimited loans can be granted by the head office, and repatriation is [word illegible].

The branches' books must be kept in the Arabic language. Ownership of immovable property is allowed on the basis of reciprocity, i.e., immovables may be owned so long as Syrians are permitted to own real property in the company's country.

The transfer of capital from a branch requires the authorization of the Minister of Economy and External Trade. All foreign exchange transfers must be approved by the Commercial Bank of Syria where the foreign exchange must be purchased. However, it is possible to hold special accounts, including freely transferable foreign accounts and accounts concerning proceeds of exports.

A foreign company can establish a trade agency by appointing a local citizen as the official trade agent. The applicant is required to register at the Ministry of Economy and External Trade and supply information on the head office of a foreign company. In general, the foreign owned agency does not represent more than one foreign company.

Persons, whether individuals or legal entities, engaged in commerce must register in the Commercial Register. Foreign branches must be registered at the Department of Companies in the Ministry of Economy and External Trade.

The following documents accompanied by certified Arabic translation, are needed for registration purposes.

1--Certified document as evidence of funds of a foreign branch which must exceed LS 50,000

2--Certified copy of the articles of association and the by-laws

3--The most recent balance sheet of the head office; and,

4--Certified power of attorney in which a resident manager is appointed. He may be either a Syrian citizen or from the country of the head office.

[9 Feb 80, pp 19-22]

#### [Text] Construction Activities

Since 1974, the Government has followed a policy of economic liberalization to encourage the growth of private sector and has allowed TNCs participation in various economic activities in the form of service contracts including construction or assembling activities.

A transnational corporation must work on government contracts through a local contractor. Construction or assembling activities in the private sector are also generally carried out by transnational corporations in collaboration with a local contractor on the form of a partnership or joint venture. Income from the exemption of such projects is taxable. Financial guarantees are required for tender offers. If a transnational corporation desires to conclude a subcontracting agreement, then special consent of the Syrian counterpart is required.

#### Investment Laws

Decree No 348 issued in December 1969 provides special guarantees and advantages to Arab investors for investing in Economic Development Projects. The Ministry of Economy issued Resolution No 265 in 1970 in connection with the above-mentioned Decree. Article 3 of the Resolution states that Economic Development Projects mentioned in the Decree are projects of transport, tourism, construction of real estate, sanitation and other investments falling under the overall plan and approved by the Economic Commission. According to the Decree, investments in natural resources and in industries competing with local industries will not be permitted.

Decree No 348 stipulates in the fifth Article that the number of Syrians working in any project under the provisions of this Decree shall not be less than 75 percent of the total workers in the project.

#### 1. Definition of Foreign Company and Foreign Capital.

A foreign company is defined as a company of any kind established outside the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic which owns a branch or an

agency in the Syrian Arab Republic. Foreign capital is defined as foreign currencies transferred through one of the recognized banks; equipment, raw materials and means of transport imported from abroad, patents, trademarks and other business rights owned by foreigners residing abroad, and, reinvested profits.

## 2. Guarantees and Incentives

According to Decree No 348 of 1969 Economic Development Projects shall enjoy the following guarantees:

a--Investment in such projects shall not be expropriated, except by a law enacted especially for the purpose and in that case adequate compensation shall be paid;

b--Products of these projects shall enjoy adequate protection from foreign competition within the framework of the overall government policy concerning customs duties;

c--Employees, including experts, working on these projects shall have the freedom of movement and residence provided that no other laws are being violated;

d--Up to fifty percent of net profit accrued on foreign capital invested in such projects is allowed to be repatriated in the same currency as the imported capital, or in any other currency agreed by the "Hard Currency Bureau." The exchange rate for such a transfer is fixed by the "Hard Currency Bureau," taking into consideration regulations in force at the time the capital was brought in the country. The remaining part of the profit is allowed to be reinvested for the expansion of existing projects or even to start new ones;

e--If a project has been implemented for five years then its net value of capital can be repatriated abroad. The value is calculated on the basis of a deed of cession or liquidation, either actual or book liquidation. The repatriation of capital is allowed at the rate of twenty five percent annually and in the same currency in which the capital was brought in the country or in any other currency approved by the "Hard Currency Bureau." The foreign exchange rate for such a transfer is fixed by the "Hard Currency Bureau" taking into consideration the regulations in force at the time the capital was brought into the country;

f--Foreign capital invested in a project for six months and over will be allowed repatriation in the same manner as it was brought, provided difficulties are encountered in implementing the project and such difficulties are accepted by the relevant Syrian authorities. Permission for such transfer will be given within three months of its request, and after the approval of the Minister of Economy and External Trade; and

g--Arab and foreign workers, including experts, working in the Syrian Arab Republic can transfer abroad, part of their wages, salaries or remunerations, provided these amounts are within the limit fixed by the Central Bank of Syria.

### 3. Free Zones

The General Establishment for Free Zones was created pursuant to Legislative Decree No 18 of 1971. The Decree determined the main duties of the Establishment as follows:

a--Management and exploitation of free zones, creation of warehouses necessary thereto and developing them as far as to assure the growth of these zones;

b--Proposing projects for creating new free zones or cancelling them;

c--Organizing the operation of free zones, coordinating their activities so as to serve the economy and to develop international commercial exchange;

d--Performing all the tasks required for the operations of free zones, with the exception of customs control; and,

e--In general, dealing with everything related to management of free zones.

Free zones are usually defined as parts of the national territory, bounded and enclosed, and considered as a neutral customs area, so that goods entering them from abroad are not subject to customs duties and some of the regulations applicable within the country are not applied to them. Industrial operations can be performed on the goods and articles introduced therein and all such operations are exempted from taxes, except fees due to the General Establishment for Free Zones.

Activity of free zones in the Syrian Arab Republic is based on both industrial and commercial operations. The free zones offer attractive investment opportunities to Syrians, Arab and foreign investors by providing various services and facilities such as roads, sidewalks, sewers, electric and telephone installations and networks, etc. to erect their factories and warehouses thereon, on long period operations) against very low yearly rentals. In addition, the following tax incentives are available to investors:

a--Income tax exemption for new industries for a period of three years; tax exemption for five years on retained earnings if used for expansion;

b--Exemption for six years from "Utilization Tax" and for five years from "estate tax";

c--Exemption from import duties on machineries and equipment decided upon by a Presidential Decree.

New incentive law for the free zones has been drafted which may soon be promulgated. The incentives stated in the draft law, which are considered as the minimum required to attract capital to establish commercial and industrial enterprises in Syrian free zones can be summarized as follows:

a--Exemption from income tax for a period of seven years for industrial projects and five years for commercial projects;

b--Nonapplication of the regulations on employment and profit sharing among employees;

c--Issuing a certificate of origin for exports from the free zones if the local content of products is 40 percent or more; and,

d--Permitting banking transactions under the control of the authority of the free zones, accepting foreign currency deposits from nonresidents with the right to take the funds out of the country.

CSO: 4820

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HEAD INTERVIEWED ON THREATS TO GULF AREA

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 31 Dec 79-6 Jan 80 p 20

[Interview with President of the National Assembly Tiriyam 'Umran Tiriyam, in Sharjah, by correspondent 'Ali Hashim: "Representative Democracy is Absent and the Representatives Are Wise Talkers;" date of interview not given]

[Text] Tiriyam 'Umran Tiriyam is the president of the Federal National Assembly of the UAE. Tiriyam has begun to turn toward opposition--not opposition to the regime under which he lives, but opposition to certain practices, and therefore opposition to maintaining the old without innovation.

Tiriyam 'Umran Tiriyam does not like to talk, because he does not want to "make problems more complicated." But when he is getting along with his friends, he relaxes and talks about his concerns, which he feels are the concerns of all the citizens in the state, and especially, the educated.

Tiriyam is a graduate of the University of Cairo. Prior to the British withdrawal from the emirates of the Trucial Coast (which was the name given to the seven emirates that now comprise the UAE) in the 1970's, Tiriyam and his brother 'Abdallah owned the newspaper AL-KHALIJ. Following the British withdrawal and the establishment of the UAE, Tiriyam was appointed the UAE's ambassador to Cairo and his brother 'Abdallah was appointed minister of education.

After the first federal crisis, the situation had not changed. Then the Baghdad summit took place and the UAE cut off its relations with Egypt following the Camp David agreements, and Ambassador Tiriyam came to be elected president of the Federal National Assembly.

The thing which attracted attention during the celebration of the eighth National Anniversary (2 December 1979) was the speech delivered by Tiryam in which he spoke of dangers besetting the Gulf area from all sides, the democracy which must be, and a hardline Arab policy toward those who reach out to the enemy, by which he meant President Sadat, having been his state's ambassador to Egypt.

The Gulf area has not yet grown accustomed to hearing this kind of talk from the head of a representative assembly who is not a ruler, not a shaykh and not an amir. Nevertheless, Tiryam's speech caused a stir, which the shaykhs themselves were the first to applaud, seeing it as a courageous act and the beginning of an era of dialog between the rulers and their citizens.

In an interview with Tiryam, the discussion centered on the Gulf area, the things which are planned for it, and the proposed solutions.

In Tiryam's opinion, democracy has not yet taken on a universal character in the Gulf area.

[Question] What do you mean by democracy and the rulers and citizens being closer to another?

[Answer] I mean representative democracy. I do not deny that the rulers of the UAE place no barriers between themselves and their citizens, and I do not deny that the citizens can confront the rulers anytime they want and complain about their problems or give them their opinions. However, the problem of representation still exists with respect to the National Assembly.

[Question] How do you want this democracy and representation to be?

[Answer] Our systems are based on tribes. We all know this, and our democracy is accepted by our people because there are no barriers between the citizens and the rulers. However, the problem of representation in the National Assembly still remains. Here we must change our method. When we go beyond our tribal methods and establish a representative assembly, then we must follow the usual methods of electing this assembly.

We have changed considerably and we have altered our way of life and our manner of dealing with one another. Distinction by birth still exists, but with some changes for the better. If we want an elective assembly, then why don't we call on the citizens to elect their representatives?

The statement that the people have not developed is no longer in keeping with the times or the facts. Our way of life has changed, and with it our potentialities, knowledge, intelligence, vision and view of things. This citizen, to which we have given everything, must also be given the right to be elected to the National Assembly, or the right to elect whomever he deems worthy of this.

There might be protests that the citizen is not qualified for that, or that the method used in the parliamentary democratic states of the West is not appropriate for us. This is feasible. But we have the ability to establish the laws which are appropriate for our situation so that we can give the citizen his right to elect his representatives. While it is true that a wide gap separates us from others with respect to practice, we are capable of creating a means of experimentation. Let's experiment, and however unsuccessful the experiment is, it could not be more unsuccessful than the method followed now.

We talk about development, modernization and civilization. Does this have to remain limited to the erection of buildings, the construction of roads and the building of hospitals and schools?

We have many students and graduates of various universities. Don't we have to develop to the level that the citizen has reached with respect to education and training?

[Question] What is your role in the National Assembly?

[Answer] That of adviser. A law is sent to us and we talk about it in complete freedom. We criticize and call for changes. But unfortunately, we do not have the power to legislate. If we send the law back to the ministry that drafted it, the ministry may return it to us without accepting our proposals. If the assembly insists on its proposals, then the ministry takes the law back again. If it is not convinced at this point, the ministry has the right to publish the law by decree of the president just as they drafted it, discarding all the proposals and amendments sought by the members of the assembly which I represent.

[Question] Have you clashed with the government over a law yet?

[Answer] Actually, we have not clashed yet. The reason we haven't is because we are like a small family in which everyone knows everyone else. All the members of the assembly know the members of the government. We reach agreement on every law because we are brothers from the same family. Thus far, we have not clashed with one another. But if we did clash, God forbid, the right is always on the side of the government, because our assembly does not have legislative authority. We are observers who offer advice which can either be accepted or rejected. There may be a gap in the constitution which needs to be reconsidered, but what are we supposed to do? Several matters need to be reconsidered.

[Question] Concerning policy, does the government make it or do you as representatives make it?

[Answer] Actually, general policy is determined by the members of the Supreme Federal Assembly, or in other words, the rulers of the seven emirates which make up the UAE, namely, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, 'Ajman, Umm al-Qaywayn,

Ra's al-Khaymah and Fujayrah. The government implements the policy of the Supreme Federal Council and it is sent to the National Assembly. We debate it, but our debates and opinions are not binding.

[Question] If you are ineffective, then what is the advantage of your existence?

[Answer] Anyone who has attended or now attends our sessions knows why we exist. Our debates are conducted with the utmost frankness, and we are free to express opinions against any government action with which we are dissatisfied. We live in a climate of complete freedom as though we were members of any representative assembly in a deep-rooted parliamentary state.

[Question] Have you been able to change anything in the government's policy?

[Answer] Government policy remains inseparable from us. The ministers are inseparable from us. The plans made by any minister spring from his feelings and the feelings of every citizen. We haven't had a disagreement yet, and no problem has occurred. It can be said that we are in agreement.

[Question] Do you have the power to bring down the government if you believe that its policy is incompatible with the aspirations of the citizens?

[Answer] No. We advise; we do not legislate and we do not bring down governments. In relation to the structure of the system, we represent the wise men of words, and words only. Up to this point, everything has gone as well as could be wished. How it will go in the future, I don't know.

[Question] What do you suggest?

[Answer] Pardon me, but I have already given my suggestions: a return to the citizen, who is no longer just an individual in a tribe. We respect tribal feeling. However, since we have developed in the other areas of life, why don't we develop in this area?

[Question] Do you mean that you want elections?

[Answer] Of course. The members of the National Assembly are appointed. Each ruler of an emirate chooses an elite which he believes to be qualified to represent the citizens of his emirate. But what I propose, just between you and me, is that it be left up to the citizen to choose, with all due respect for how correct a ruler may be in his opinion and his choice.

[Interviewer] What Tiryam 'Umran Tiryam says is just his opinion on the circumstances through which the Gulf is now passing. He does not want there to be a problem. But his opinion is that giving the citizen more freedom of determination may help in confronting all the circumstances and threats which are besetting the area.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

MOTIVES FOR OIL PRODUCTION DROP OFFERED

Dubai AKHBAR DUBAYY in Arabic 1 Dec 79 pp 82-86

[Article: "Why Has UAE Reduced Its Oil Production; Preserving Safety of Fields Dictates Decision; Industrial World Getting Greedier and Giant Companies Get Lion's Share Whereas Producing Countries Get Little"]

[Text] Amidst the voices rising in the industrial world to demand angrily that oil production be increased and amidst the views that hold the oil producing countries responsible for what is happening to the world economy, a calm voice has risen to ask the industrial world to stop the oil massacre and to end its blackmail, demanding that the consumer countries streamline their consumption.

Amidst all this, the UAE has made its decision to reduce its oil production so as to preserve the country's wealth and to safeguard the future generations' share of this wealth. What are the motives behind this decision which the UAE announced a few days ago?

The statement made by Dr Mani' Sa'id al-'Utaybah, the minister of petroleum and mineral resources, declaring that the UAE is thinking seriously of reducing its oil production next year has caused big reactions at home and abroad. Though the statement has been received internally with great satisfaction and even with joy, especially among the rising generations, it has been received with a wave of denunciation abroad.

At home, some people have recalled the idea that was projected sometime ago and that says that we must produce enough oil for our financial needs. The advocates of this idea say that the value of oil is increasing daily, that the value of oil in the ground is rising at higher rates than we imagine and that oil in its natural stores is stronger in value than the billions accumulated in the world's banks and treasuries--billions that are eroded by inflation and whose value is diminished by time. The advocates of this opinion confirm their opinion by saying that until a year ago, a barrel of oil was sold for \$14 whereas it is now sold at \$40 in the free market.

A broad, well-informed sources say that the UAE decision has caused a big tremor in the oil markets. The world is currently suffering from "energy starvation" due to the drop in Iranian production, to the declaration by more than one country of its intention to reduce its production and to the rising world demand.

### Flexible Oil Policy to Safeguard Fields

If we isolate this statement from both the internal and external reactions and if we discuss it logically, we can say that this decision has come at the right time to safeguard the country's basic wealth and to regulate its production in a way that reduces the depletion rate. The oil fields have, as Dr Mani' al-'Utaybah says, limited reserves. If we don't learn how to exploit them, then what will we bequeath the future generations?

The fact is that the UAE oil policy has passed through several phases in the past 8 years according to the development in the need for oil revenues and according to the requirements of the development plans. In 1972, the oil policy sought to increase production in Abu Dhabi and planned to reach a production of 2 million barrels by the end of the current year. However, this policy in itself did not turn into a goal, i.e. something to achieve regardless of the consequences. Rather, there have been several pauses.

When Abu Dhabi found that the production rate which amounted to 1,586,000 barrels in 1976, i.e. with an increase of 13 percent over 1975, could threaten the oil fields and when it found itself in disagreement with the operating companies, the emirate employed the services of a scientific team which prepared a study on the conditions and situation of the fields and set the maximum limit that production can reach [without damaging the fields]. This is why we find that Abu Dhabi backed down on the two-million barrel plan and set an average production of 1.7 million barrels daily in 1977.

### Why Was Decision to Reduce Production Taken?

But is this the only reason that motivated the officials in charge of drafting the oil policy to make the decision to reduce production?

There are several factors that have led to the decision, most of them local factors connected with safeguarding the oil wealth and refraining from over-taxing the oil fields. It is known scientifically that oil--like every (protein) substance--floats on water and that the basic factor pushing oil from the bowels of earth to the surface is the element of pressure inside the field or inside the place containing the oil.

If the pressure drops, the rate at which the oil gushes from the bottom to the mouth of the oilwell drops.

This pressure might be due to the presence of large quantities of gas in the same field. This is known as the oil-accompanying gas which puts pressure on the oil, thus pushing it upward. The cause of the pressure might

also be the presence of large quantities of water that push the oil upward, regardless of whether this water is fresh or saline.

When the pressure in the well decreases, the well productivity drops. This is why the so-called injection process--i.e. the injection of water into the well so that it may push the oil toward the mouth of the well--has appeared in the world of oil production. At times, some countries resort to re-injecting the accompanying gas into the well to increase the production rate.

#### Hundreds of Millions to Raise Pressure in Wells

What has happened in recent years is that the companies operating in Abu Dhabi have resorted to the "policy of re-injection with water" in the land and offshore wells. They have drilled tens of wells in each field and have pumped enormous quantities of water into them. These operations have cost hundreds of millions of dollars, as in the case of 'Asab field on land and the Zakum offshore field. It has been said that Abu Dhabi is foremost among the countries that use the policy of injection with water and that it shoulders heavy expenses to implement this policy. The expenses are the result of the purchase of drilling rigs and the construction of power plants and pipeline networks and so forth. All this is done to increase pressure inside the fields with the aim of increasing production. Therefore, I believe that the decision to reduce production has been adopted to safeguard and not to overtax the oil fields because the injection process has its drawbacks that are not unknown to those familiar with the oil industry secrets.

We can liken an oil field to a piece of sponge saturated with oil. Whenever you squeeze the sponge it will give you a quantity of oil. But till when? The volume in every field is fixed and if the pressing and "squeezing" continues, the sponge will ultimately go dry and give nothing. This is the picture of an oil field. It is one vessel containing a fixed quantity. This is why the reduction decision has been taken.

#### Why Don't We Postpone Its Sale to the Future?

The second point is that the value of the barrel of oil is rising constantly.

Before 15 February 1971, the price of a barrel of light crude was \$1.8 and we only got from this price small revenues amounting to one quarter or embodied in the production tax.

As of 15 February 1971, the price of a barrel of light crude rose to \$2.18.

On 20 January 1972, the price rose to \$2.479 and to \$2.591 a year later.

But as a result of the price correction revolution of 17 October 1973, the price jumped to \$11.651 and this price continued to rise in leaps until it reached \$23.5 last July. The current free market price is \$40 per barrel.

This means that the price of the oil barrel is developing at a stunning speed. Therefore, it is a pity to produce large quantities now in return for cheap prices whereas we can preserve our oil, or the largest part of it, in the bowels of the earth and sell it in the future at manyfold what we are getting now. It is most likely that the price of a barrel of oil will reach \$100 in the next few years at the most. So why should we waste our oil?

It is true that there are international commitments that we have to meet, namely the commitments of supplying energy to the world economy. But this should not be done to the extent of exhausting our sole source of wealth.

This is why we call for reducing production and why we have not called for stopping production.

Reducing production by 20 percent, for example, will not be so much of a blow to world economy as it will be a step toward preserving our oil wealth in the interest of the future generations.

Voices have begun to rise demanding a stop to the oil massacre and to burning oil as a fuel for engines and demanding that its use be restricted to that of a main source for the industries. The voices are demanding at the same time that "squeezing the lemon" to the last drop be stopped. Sounding the alarm, OPEC Secretary General Rene Ortez has said in his address to the annual convention of the Canadian Lawyers Union: Do not squeeze fruit to the last drop. Stop the oil blackmail and do not overtax the oil fields.

Ortez further added: Though the industrial world is demanding that oil production be increased, logic requires us to ration, or at least streamline, its consumption. The OPEC Secretary General has used the phrase [words dropped], i.e. squeezing or blackmailing the lemon [sic] or the continued application of pressure to the end. This is an expression that reflects fully what is happening in the oil world at present.

Will we stop the "squeezing" or the blackmail?

When the oil wealth escaped, or almost escaped, the hands of the western countries through full ownership [by the producing countries], as in the case of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Dubai, through ownership of the bigger share, as in the case of Abu Dhabi which owns 60 percent of the oil, through nationalization, as in the case of Libya, Iraq and Algeria, or through steps to complete the producing country's ownership, as Saudi Arabia is planning to do--since these steps took place and since the producing countries levied high taxes and large fees on the production operations, thus leaving the exploiting companies only a little, the western countries have resorted to various means to extort the oil wealth or to transfer the oil from the areas of production to the areas of consumption.

Until the early 1970's, the price of a barrel of oil exceeded one dollar by a few cents only. In 1972, the price of a barrel of oil was \$1.80.

Since the oil price correction revolution in October 1973 and the subsequent dangers that the Arab oil posed, the consuming countries have been implementing a long-range plan to exhaust the Arab oil sources. This plan is embodied in:

**Storage in Tankers:**

This is a method to which the consuming countries, and even the major companies, have resorted with the aim of acquiring enormous mobile or fixed stores to face the possibilities of oil price increases. These countries and companies resort to this method just before the OPEC conference that may discuss price increases.

These countries and companies have exploited the availability of a big surplus in oil tankers--a surplus reaching in some months more than one half the world's oil fleet capacity. Instead of letting tankers stand empty in Hong Kong, Singapore or Portugal, the companies have been leasing giant oil tankers with a capacity of more than 400,000 tons each and sending them around the world from the shipping ports to the unloading ports at a slow speed. The distance that a tanker used to cover in 20 days now takes 2 or even 3 months. Some well-informed people have said that these tankers have carried enough oil to meet the world demands for a long time.

The consuming countries and the major companies have exploited the periods of abundant production and accumulated enormous stores at cheap prices. But the producing countries have become aware of this trick and prices are now corrected or increased retroactively in most cases. The companies have also tried to use the method of storage in tankers to exert pressure on the producing countries by creating a surplus exceeding the demand. This happened in the first half of last year when the surplus reached 3 million barrels daily, thus creating a turmoil in the markets that motivated some countries to demand a drop in production so as to absorb this surplus.

**Re-injecting Oil:**

The consuming countries have further resorted to the sliest ideas to exhaust the oil fields or, in other words, to transfer the oil reserves from their original fields in the Middle East to new fields within their territories. These countries have followed two different methods to achieve this goal.

First, injecting the old and disused coal mines with liquid cement and then turning them into underground oil reservoirs. These mines have absorbed vast quantities of oil in anticipation of political or military events.

Second, re-injecting the Middle East oil into the already depleted U.S. oil fields. It is well-known that the United States has set a limit to the quantities of oil produced from its oil fields so as to preserve these fields and to keep the largest quantities of oil possible in the ground.

## **World Consumption Doubled in 10 Years**

What is certain is that the oil market has witnessed in the past 10 years a serious development embodied in the misuse, and even the most excessive use, of oil. While the average world consumption hovered around 20 to 25 million barrels [daily] until the early 1970's, this consumption leaped to an average daily consumption of 49 million barrels in the first 6 months of this year. This means that world consumption has doubled in 10 years.

The increasing world demand for oil has led to whetting the appetite of the big oil companies that have become more like "independent empires that cannot be reached by the laws of countries." The seven sisters, a phrase used for the giant oil companies, have come to reap profits not attained by the oil producing countries, and not even by the oil consuming countries.

The proof is that Texaco realized in the first quarter of this year a profit exceeding by 211 percent the profit it realized in the same period of last year. Standard Oil realized an increase of 191 percent and Mobil an increase of 131 percent. These profits are actually bigger than those earned by the producing countries themselves.

### **For How Much Do Companies Buy and for How Much Do They Sell?**

These companies have exploited "the eagerness of the consuming countries" for oil and the fear of the outbreak of an "oil starvation" to ignite the Rotterdam spotmarket which is subject to nothing other than the law of supply and demand and which is governed by nearly the same conditions that govern the stock exchanges. The proof is that whereas the Rotterdam market did not sell more than 200,000 barrels daily in the past, it is now selling nearly 3 million barrels a day. Not only this. The issue also extends to the prices at which oil is sold in this market. Though OPEC has set the minimum price at \$18 per barrel and the maximum price at \$23.5 per barrel, depending on the sulfur content and the quality of the crude, the barrel is sold at the Rotterdam market at a price ranging from \$37 to \$43.

These companies acquire their oil at moderate prices from the producing countries and then sell it at astronomical prices at the Rotterdam spotmarket, thus realizing profits that have motivated the U.S. President to demand the levying of high taxes on the companies.

## **World Production and Big Producers**

### **But how much oil does the world produce at present?**

The world production is close to 50 million barrels daily, of which the OPEC members produce between 32 and 34 million barrels while the rest is produced by the communist bloc countries and by countries outside the OPEC, such as Britain, Mexico, Norway and China. Saudi Arabia tops the list of oil exporting countries, considering that its production has amounted to 9.5 million barrels, with a daily increase of one million barrels [presumably over last year], by the end of this year.

Iran was next on the list with a production that peaked at 5.5 million barrels daily just before the revolution. However, Iran's production now hovers around 2 to 2.5 million barrels at the most.

Next on the list is Iraq with a production of nearly 3 million barrels. Iraq is followed by Venezuela, the UAE, Kuwait and Nigeria.

Due to the instability of the oil market, the idea of "programmed production" has been presented to the OPEC conferences repeatedly. Programmed production means a maximum production at which the producing countries will stop with the aim of controlling the markets, of foiling the opportunities of the oil companies and of curtailing the storage policy adopted by the consuming countries. But this idea has not been adopted because of the differences in the political positions inside the OPEC and because of the varying demands for oil revenues resulting from the varying development plans. The differences in the development plans have reached such a degree that one of the major oil producing countries is borrowing hundreds of millions of dollars from the world's banks and markets to implement its development plans.

The issue of production rationing has been left for every country to decide separately according to its special and internal conditions. But the experience undergone by the oil market in the first half of last year has motivated some producing countries to reduce their production to absorb the surplus from the markets, as has been done by Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

#### Shaking Up World to Streamline Consumption

What is happening on the oil arena at present motivates us to ask: Why doesn't the OPEC adopt now--and not later--the policy of rationing production to compel the consuming countries to streamline their consumption. The OPEC's meeting of the market demands does not mean that the OPEC members should squander their main wealth. This meeting of the demands requires the consumers to curtail their policy of "oil extortion" and exhaustion. The OPEC is required to draft a policy that sets the production of each member state within the limits of its financial requirements and in a manner that does not exhaust its oil fields and that preserves for its future generations their share of this wealth which will be depleted in 50 years at the most.

The major consuming countries have held more than one meeting to curtail oil consumption but without achieving the desired result. The latest of these meetings was the Tokyo summit which was held at the end of last June and was attended by the leaders of the seven major western countries. Even though the summit ended up with a resolution that calls for consumption in the next 5 years not to exceed the average consumption of these countries in the past year, all evidence indicates that this will not be achieved. Rather, the greed of the consumers is increasing day after day.

The consuming world will not awaken from the "oil massacre" unless the production rates are shaken up severely. The world did not think of oil alternatives until the prices of oil were "corrected" or almost corrected. But

during the period when the west was paying less than a dollar per barrel, its scientists did not exert themselves to search for alternatives to this cheaply priced commodity. When the oil imports bill rose, the world started to spend, and with noticeable earnestness, on the research for alternative energy sources. Though the oil price "correction process" has put the consumers on the beginning of the path to end the oil "extortion," the western world still needs another "shakeup" to impel it to speed up the research on these alternatives.

Such a shakeup will not occur unless the production is rationed, i.e. unless the total production of the OPEC members is limited.

Can the coming Caracas meeting on 17 December adopt this policy to put an end to the oil massacre?

This issue is up to the 13 ministers who are now preparing for the coming OPEC meeting.

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WESTERN SAHARA

SPANISH DELEGATION MEMBER SAYS SAHARANS WELL ORGANIZED

Madrid ABC in Spanish 30 Jan 80 pp 9, 11 [outer pages]

[Article by Jose Antonio A. Gundin: "When Life Is Gunpowder, Determination and Hope"]

[Text] In the Saharan refugee camps in the middle of the desert, overcoming 1,001 difficulties, they have set in motion an impressive organization.

"The day I no longer smell the odor of gunpowder, I'll die." In nervous and hesitant Arabic an old Saharan, his face weatherbeaten by 1,000 suns and 1,000 moons of desert cold, spit out these words without blinking an eyelash, with all the conviction in the world. In his eyes I seemed to see the glint of a will of steel, tempered by so much bitterness and so many privations, and a certain hope of returning to his homeland. Afterward, when the old man had left the "jaima," the tent, in which people were squeezed together as though forming a crowd, a Saharan Government official who was accompanying us informed us that this was a spontaneous affair, that this occurrence was not planned as part of the program.

Yet I now have the impression that nobody has been capable of expressing the faith sustained by the Saharans living in exile in Algeria as well as that impetuous old man. That faith and that victory morale which all of us members of the Spanish delegation invited by the POLISARIO Front to visit the Saharan refugee camps agreed was praiseworthy. For 6 days, from 5 to 11 January, we 24 representatives of various church organizations and reporters on religious affairs for reviews, newspapers and radio were able to observe the greatnesses and the limitations of a people which, with its eyes fixed on the horizon, is waiting, working and fighting in a small desert area southwest of Algeria, some 20 km from Tinduf, very close to the Saharan border.

For someone who has just arrived, it is hard to imagine that any human project could be carried out in this desert. Again and again, the sirocco whips the sand into waves of fury; water, where there is any, is scarce; the sun and the cold reduce the first signs of life to a sterile surface of brown shades which loses itself beyond the horizon; the last signs of

civilization are far off. How can one not be surprised on finding that, given the circumstances and in spite of all the difficulties, in addition to a plan for surviving, one of the wars of most concern to international public opinion is being waged. And it is certainly true that, if the news media did not remind us day after day of the Saharan conflict, no one would believe that such determination, hope and even victory morale were possible in such an arid and inhospitable environment.

#### "My Father Is at the Front..."

We were able to observe more than impressive proof of the Sanarans' determination. The National Hospital rises into sight in the middle of a semi-circle formed by brown hills. It is a quadrangular building, no more than 3 meters high, built of adobe and covered with a few sheets of corrugated iron. Inside it, dark and poorly ventilated, are various rooms with high-sounding signs written in Spanish, like "Pediatrics," "X-Rays," "Maternity Ward," "General Medicine," "Laboratory," etc. In the consultation room some, very few, medicines may be seen. One thinks that the name, National Hospital, is too grandiose for this modest and prematurely old medical building. There are many deficiencies and shortages that have to be gotten around in order to care for all the patients. There is a shortage of medicines, material, suitable food for the sick, facilities; yet, despite all this, there it is, as if it had dropped from the sky into the middle of the desert, displaying to the visitor this miracle of determination, waiting for international aid.

The same can be said for the 9 June School — so-called because that is national unity day — where 1,500 children are being educated through a boarding-school system under the watchwords of patriotism, revolution and war against those who are occupying the Sahara. It is no accident that these children, from 9 to 13 years old, welcome the visitor with their fingers pointing skyward to form the "V" of victory and singing: "My father is at the front, my mother is working and I am studying for the revolution." Nor is it any accident that during their Spanish lessons — the second language after Arabic — they spell out the sentence written on the black-board with their pointers: "The people of Sahara are invincible." None of this is a coincidence as regards what someone arriving from the outside runs across here.

#### "Everyone Is a Fighter"

For better or for worse, the Saharan refugees live, learn and grow up in a permanent odor of gunpowder. They are readying themselves for war and for the present they have placed their last hopes in war. The whole impressive organization they have built up through sheer willpower is directed toward the recovery of their territory, with neither limitations nor delays. In the words of the minister of defense himself, "the whole Saharan people is involved in the fight." The young people at the front, the women in the refugee camps, the children at the 9 June School and the adolescents at the Military Academy. Here hundreds of boys and girls between 13 and 17 or 18

years of age, wearing uniforms appropriate to their different ranks, are already living the discipline of an incipient military life.

Hardly arrived, the first thing that surprises the visitor is the rhythmic and sharp clang produced by a company of adolescents drilling with their rifles. The shouts of the instructor can be heard in the classrooms where the children have their eyes glued to the blackboards and listen to the explanations of their teachers. In another classroom some 20 infant guerrillas practice the assembling and disassembling of rifles. Set off in another corner of the academy, 50 old men stand at attention before the visitors. Although we have already seen them before, seated at their desks learning to read and to sing the national anthem, I think that it is a sad sight, that it makes no sense at all to keep these old men in a military academy. "Everyone is involved in the struggle," one of the Saharan leaders repeated to us later.

#### Uncertain Future

With all this, after leaving the Military Academy, one feels that the Saharans' almost perfect organization would be worthless if it were not for the enormous hope they place in the future. It is an almost obsessive hope, insolent and unflawed. The very organization of their refugee camps is a demonstration of that determination to return to their Saharan territory, today controlled by Morocco.

They have been divided into three "wilayate" or provinces and each of them has been named after the corresponding province of the three the Sahara is divided into. Thus some refugees belong to the province of Smara, others to Dajala and the rest to El Aaiun. That way, when the time to return comes, they say, each refugee "wilaya" will have to do no more than set itself up in the corresponding province.

No one knows what fate awaits the Saharan people. The war they are waging against Morocco may perhaps be a long one, bloodier than now, more hopeless than today. Nor can we judge from the visit we made to the Saharan camps and installations how many years they can maintain a constant state of war. The evidence of a good organization is not enough. POLISARIO Front leaders were very careful not to give out concrete information, to show us figures, to reveal their limitations and obligations. It is natural that this be the case but also overly suspect. The charge hangs over them that they are trying to make a republic with full rights out of a people very small in number. The many charges of government intervention and dictates by other countries also weigh heavily. And whenever someone has asked, perhaps ingenuously, about the details, he has been answered with silence. He has had to content himself with "aseptically" observing the life of the Saharan exile: gunpowder, determination, hope and revolution. Like the colors of the flag: black, white, green and a red triangle.

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